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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS

VOL. XI

ELEVENTH MEETING HELD AT NAGPUR

December 1928.



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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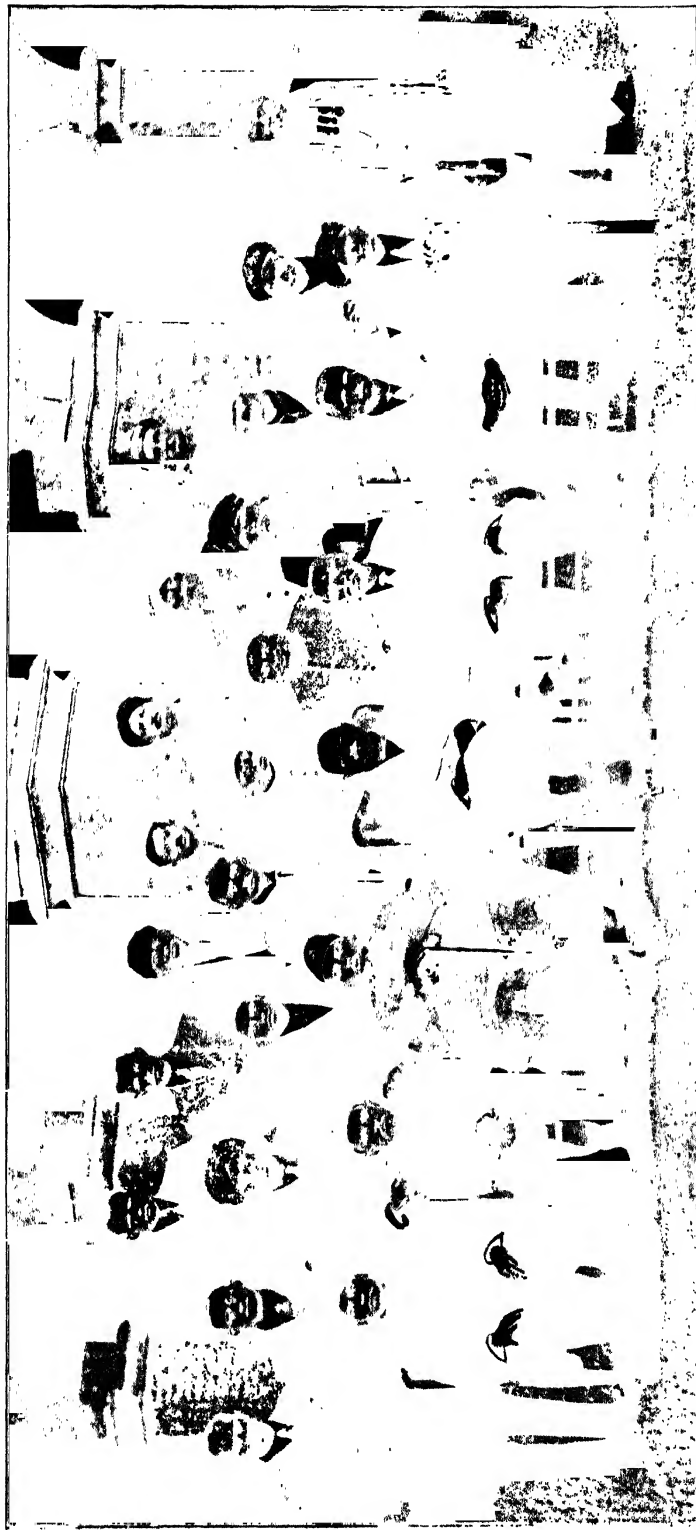
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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.
ELEVENTH SESSION, NAGPUR.
5th December 1928.



Front Row—Left to right.—Mr. L. P. Dutt, Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Mr. A. F. M. Abdull Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., His Excellency Sir M. S. D. Butler, Governor of the Central Provinces, Mr. J. N. Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., Mr. R. B. Rambotham, M.B.E., M.A., I.E.S., Mr. A. V. V. Ayyar, M.A.
Middle Row—Mr. J. B. Raiji, M.A., I.E.S., Mr. D. G. E. Hall, M.A., I.E.S., Rai Bahadur Hira Lall, Mr. J. C. Talukdar, M.A., Mr. M. J. Seth, Mr. S. Khurseed Ali, M.A., Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandey, Mr. S. M. Rahman, M.L.C., Mr. P. T. S. Iyengar, M.A., Mons. A. B. Pillai.
Back Row—Captain P. W. R. Kaye, A.D.C. to His Excellency, Mr. R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Mr. S. R. Aiyangar, M.A., Mr. K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Mr. C. V. Joshi, M.A., Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Mr. Y. M. Kale, M.L.C.

Proceedings of the Eleventh Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Nagpur on 5th and 6th December 1928.

The eleventh public meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Convocation Hall of the University of Nagpur, on the 5th December 1928. An exhibition of documents, seals, coins, paintings and other objects of historical interest obtained from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals, was held at the Victoria Technical Institute Hall, Nagpur, in connection with the meeting. The proceedings were opened by His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. Her Excellency Lady Butler, Miss Butler and a large number of ladies attended the function. Mr. G. S. Bajpai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, and Messrs. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., and H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., two of the members, were unavoidably absent. For the first time this year all the Universities in India were invited to send representatives to the public meeting of the Commission and delegates from seven of them attended the meeting.

The following members were present :—

1. Mr. J. N. Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., late Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, Calcutta.
2. Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., I.E.S., Officiating Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta; also represented the University of Calcutta.
3. Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B.A. (Bombay).
4. Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar, M.A., Curator, Madras Record Office (*Ex-officio*).
5. Mr. L. P. Dutt, M.R.A.S., *Officiating* Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal (*Ex-officio*).
6. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (Secretary).

The following co-opted members and representatives of local Governments, Indian States and Universities were also present :—

1. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katni; also represented the Nagpur University (co-opted).

2. Mr. Y. M. Kale, M.L.C., Buldana (co-opted).
3. Mr. S. M. Rahman, M.L.C., Akola (co-opted).
4. Mr. Abdul Qadir Siddiqi, M.L.A., Burhanpur (co-opted).
5. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Yeotmal (co-opted).
6. The Rt. Rev. Alex. Wood, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Lord Bishop of Nagpur (co-opted).
7. Mr. R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur (co-opted).
8. Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandey, representative of the Feudatory States in the Central Provinces (co-opted).
9. Mr. J. B. Raju, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S., Officiating Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces; and Local Officer, Indian Historical Records Commission, Nagpur (co-opted).
10. Mr. D. G. E. Hall, M.A., I.E.S., Professor of History, University of Rangoon, and Corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Represented the Government of Burma and the University of Rangoon (co-opted).
11. Mons. A. Balasubramaniam Pillai, Pondicherry, representative of the French Government in India (co-opted).
12. Mr. S. Khursheed Ali, M.A., representative of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (co-opted).
13. Mr. C. V. Joshi, M.A., representative of the Baroda State (co-opted).
14. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sneo Narain, Advocate, High Court, Lahore, and Corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission (co-opted).
15. Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Calcutta (co-opted).
16. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., Reader in Indian History, University of Madras, representative of the University (co-opted).
17. Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram, representative of the Andhra University (co-opted).
18. Mr. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., Principal, V. R. College, Nellore, representative of the Andhra University.
19. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., Lecturer, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, representative of the Andhra University.
20. Mr. J. C. Talukdar, M.A., Professor, St. John's College, Agra, representative of the Agra University (co-opted).
21. Mr. K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Reader in Indian History, Dacca University, representative of the University (co-opted).

His Excellency, who arrived precisely at 11 a.m., was received at the entrance by the Secretary and members of the Commission headed by Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, and conducted to the *dais* in a procession. His Excellency then delivered the following address:—

Speech of His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION,

This is your first visit to the Central Provinces, and all of us here are very glad to see you. That you have assembled here in what I am told is unusual strength is a tribute partly, I hope, to our reputation for hospitality to strangers, and partly to our central position. In recent years the position of this province has been revolutionised by the opening up of great trunk lines of railway passing through Nagpur from Delhi to Madras. From being central in name we have become central in fact, and I look forward to our becoming more and more, as communications by rail and road are developed, a popular meeting place for our neighbours. Personally I have a special pleasure in welcoming you, because, though you have been addressed by many **Governors** of greater distinction, I am the first, I believe, who has been himself one of you, and who understands from inside what you are doing, and at what you are aiming. I had the privilege of being your President for two and a half years, and during that time was fortunate enough to see many important schemes inaugurated. My friend, Mr. Abdul Ali, has been telling me about their development. I have been specially interested to hear of the progress made in rendering the Imperial records at Calcutta more accessible to scholars, and in securing corresponding members for the Commission. In the nature of things the few distinguished scholars, who form the Commission itself, drawn as they are from different parts of a big continent, cannot personally investigate the historical records of India as a whole. They can form only a focus of activity, and provide the directing brain for research. The actual work of collecting and making available India's records must be done by local workers, some of them professional, and others amateur historians. In England a vast amount of work of this kind is performed by men of leisure, or busy men in their leisure moments, or men in their retirement after a life of activity. We have or have had such men here in the Central Provinces. The researches of scholars like Mr. Wills, till lately Commissioner of Nagpur, and of others who are here present today, whose names I must not mention out of regard for their modesty, are cases in point. What we want now is more such workers, and greater combination amongst them. It is my strong hope that the visit of the Historical Records Commission to Nagpur, and **the** sight of the exhibits in the Historical Exhibition which I shall have great pleasure in opening this afternoon, will provide a fresh starting point in this direction. I am looking forward, particularly, to seeing the Rai Bahadur Paras Das Collection which is being shown outside Delhi for the first time,

as well as, among others, the exhibits from the collections of Messrs. Ajit Ghosh and Bahadur Singh Singhi of Calcutta. I have no doubt also that many of the original unpublished records relating to important events in the Central Provinces, which have been brought to Nagpur from the archives of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, will prove of absorbing interest to those engaged in historical research in this province. Among local exhibits the valuable collections of the Qazi and Khatib of Ellichpur, and other prominent families like the Bhuskutes of Burhanpur and the Chitnavises and Gujars of Nagpur, and of private individuals like Mr. Y. M. Kale of Buldana, will, I am sure, attract attention. It is worthy of note that the recently discovered autograph letters of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who became subsequently the famous Duke of Wellington, would have remained buried, possibly for many long years, in our own Record Room in the Secretariat here, but for the local enthusiasm aroused by the visit of the Commission to Nagpur.

Gentlemen, the history of this province is a fascinating study. Originally a vast forest, such as Britain must once have been, it has, like Britain, been invaded and colonised over long periods of time by men of different races and different cultures, coming alike from all the points of the compass, from the south and from the north, and from the east and from the west. Who were the earliest inhabitants; who were the Gonds, who gave their names to Gondwana, and where did they spring from; how were the Rajput Kingdoms of Chhattisgarh established and organised, and how came the cotton tracts to be settled—all these are problems, the secrets of which we know enough about to whet but not to satisfy our appetites. For the earlier periods it is but too likely that no records, other than perhaps place names, exist, and it may be that the investigation to be done is the work more of the archaeologist than of the student of the written word, but for later times there must be preserved amongst the old families some papers, the value of which should be tested before it is too late. A hurried effort to trace such documents since the Commission announced its intention of coming here has had the results to which I have already alluded, and I trust that further efforts will follow after the Commission has left us. Any advice from you, gentlemen, as to how we should pursue our endeavours, and particularly any expression of opinion as to whether any permanent organisation for historical enquiry should be set up in the province, and if so, on what lines, will, I am sure, be helpful. My colleagues and I in the Government will also welcome any suggestions you may care to put forward about the care of our official records of historical importance. Within reasonable financial limits we are all anxious to do what we can to further your efforts.

Gentlemen, I have laid stress on the importance of the work of your Commission, not because of its academic interest, but because I feel that underlying it there is a deeper and wider purpose. A quarter of a century ago when the archaeological department of the Government of India was stirred

into a new life, I remember well that there were many who scoffed at its activities, and questioned their utility. The work actually performed has changed the outlook of the doubters. All of us now realise that the excavation and preservation of her ancient monuments is an essential expression of the soul of India. No nation can be really confident of its future unless it is conscious of and understands its past, and is proud of all that has gone before to build up its present. The labours of the archæologist, still in their infancy, are helping modern India to understand out of what she has been formed, and are showing how her present culture is the product not of a single strain, but is a fusion of many strains. The work of the Historical Records Commission in its deeper significance is on the same lines. The task before it is to help in unravelling the confused and tangled skein of Indian history, with a view to assisting in creating such a sense of unity in diversity as will make us all, to whatever race or religion or community we belong, proud of our share in modern India. As I have said already, we British people are a mixture of different races. Throughout the period of our fusion we have fought and quarrelled amongst ourselves, and misunderstood each other as now in India the different communities labour under misunderstandings. But after hundreds of years we have won through to unity, and to an appreciation of all that scholars tell us about the diverse elements in our present culture. The task in India is a harder one. The country is so much larger and the differences so much greater. But here also we are working towards unity. The little bit which this Commission is doing to help in this direction is worth doing, and its labours are worthy of the support of all those in this province who have the ideal of the new India as a nation amongst the nations in their hearts.

Gentlemen, again I give you welcome on behalf of the province, and wish you a successful session.

Reply of Mr. J. N. Sarkar.

Mr. J. N. Sarkar, in thanking His Excellency on behalf of the Commission, said:—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Commission I beg to thank His Excellency the Governor for the cordial welcome he has extended to us. In Sir Montagu Butler we are, indeed, meeting with an old friend. The Commission had profited by his sympathy and valuable guidance even before he came to this Province. As Education Secretary to the Government of India, he was *ex-officio* President of the Commission for over two years, and he took the keenest interest in our work. In many ways the work of the Commission was helped and its usefulness extended as the result of Sir Montagu's measures at that time. The corresponding members, appointed at various centres in India and Burma,

who now form our valuable colleagues, were first created at his instance. The historical exhibition attached to our meetings, which now excites such wide public interest and serves as an object-lesson in historical instruction, was first organized on its present large scale under Sir Montagu's orders. He also started a very much needed but long-delayed work among the records of the Imperial Government itself. Their huge and daily growing bulk makes their proper preservation and speedy consultation an increasingly difficult task, unless they are sorted and classified, and the useless mass of papers laid aside, so that the really historical documents may receive proper care. But to guard against the destruction of any paper of historical value through the ignorance or oversight of the office, a Records Sub-Committee of this Commission was constituted, with three scholars on its personnel, to afford expert supervision to this work of classification and weeding out. For all these, even apart from his present hospitality as head of this province, we are grateful to His Excellency.

As this is our first visit to Nagpur, it may be necessary to give you some idea of our scope and policy. The Indian Historical Records Commission was constituted by the Government of India in 1919 for the purpose of advising it on the best means of preserving its records, listing and calendaring them, making them accessible to the public, and publishing catalogues and reproductions of the more important papers in the State archives. The Commission at its inception consisted only of three Keepers of Government Records (*viz.*, those of India, Madras and Bengal) with three historical scholars to give it expert advice. Such a small and purely advisory body may seem to have had no need to meet every year nor to visit the different provincial capitals. But it was at once found that the records of our country were in a very different condition from those of England and France, and required a different treatment. In several provinces the Government had no properly organised record office and no special record officer, while others were remarkably advanced in this respect (notably Madras under Mr. H. Dodwell). At the same time the Government did not hold all the historical records. Leaving out the ancient and mediæval periods of our country's history many records of even the European period are in the possession of private persons, and are needed to supplement and complete the contents of the State archives for any specific subject of historical inquiry. For instance the letters addressed by Lord Dalhousie and some other high officials to Sir Frederick Currie, the head of the Punjab administration during the eventful year of the Second Sikh War (1848), are to be found in the original in the possession of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. French and Portuguese State papers directly bearing upon British Indian history are to be found in Pondicherry and Goa respectively, and several important documents are in the possession of the Indian States and of private families in British India.

The problem before our Commission was how to get information about these. Sir Henry Sharp, our first President, found its solution by extending

our scope and turning the original small and purely advisory body of experts into a larger and more elastic band of explorers and collectors. In order to tempt private collections of records out of their hiding places, and not only save them from ants but also bring them to the notice of scholars, it was decided to visit the different provinces in rotation, invite the public to our meetings at which historical papers would be read and discussed, and to organize an exhibition of historical documents and objects of interest or art.

This development of our activity has been eminently successful. We have secured the very valuable co-operation of two workers among records outside British India, *viz.*, Senhor P. Pissurlencar of Goa and M. Singaravelou Pillai of Pondicherry, whom, I grieve to say, we shall never more see in our midst. State papers of great importance now in private possession have been unearthed and printed in our proceedings, and findspots of other similar collections have been revealed.

In short, this Commission without being a large gathering of varied scholarship like the Oriental Conference, can claim that its public sessions have evoked cordial co-operation among earnest students of history and kindled a keen desire for historical inquiry and preservation of records in many parts of India.

The value of this Commission's work has this year found a pleasing recognition from some of the Indian Universities which have sent their delegates to attend its meetings, for the first time.

The Records Commission has lost a most valuable member by the death of Monsieur A. Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry. He attended all our meetings since the Madras session and his tireless industry in office and search among the private families of his place resulted in the happy discovery of several papers of historical importance, such as the last will of Niccolao Manucci and a report on the political condition of the Indian States written by M. Bussy (which rivals Jean Law's report of an earlier date on the same subject, published by M. A. Martineau). Many of our members still remember him as a delightful personal friend. On behalf of the Commission I beg to convey our condolence to his family, through his brother, who is attending this session. We also mourn the death of Professor Jogendra Nath Samaddar, B.A., a corresponding member from Bihar.

For the historical exhibition, we are grateful to the owners of the exhibits. I should like to notice the special generosity of Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, *Rais* of Delhi, whose rare collection has now for the first time been allowed to travel outside Delhi.

We thank the people of Nagpur for the interest they have displayed in the Commission and the hospitality they have shown to us. The history of this province, when properly written, cannot fail to be a chapter of the history of India, equally romantic and rich in lessons of political growth. Scholars

are not wanting who deny to Nagpur the right to be regarded as the ancient city of the serpent whose king sought the hand of the fair princess Indumati.

Ath-oragākhy—āśya purasya nātham

Daubā riki deva—swarupam—etya

Itash—chakorākshi bilokayeti

Purvānushishtam nijagāda Bhojyām.

But the fort of Nagpur, as a stronghold of the Gond Rajah of Deogarh, is mentioned in the official annals of Shah Jahan. Since then its historical record is unbroken. In the British period, four streams of people, from the north, east, south-east and south-west, have met together in this province and diversified its ethnology and history. Your southern adjunct, Berar, was a seat of ancient Hindu culture, famous in Sanskrit poetry and legend, while in the Muhammadan and Maratha ages it played a most important part in the southward expansion of the empire of Delhi and the northward advance of the Maratha Power. That history must have left its legacy in the form of many private collections of records in the various cities and even old villages of this province. To the need of discovering and utilising them we draw your attention, for it is only with the help of such materials that a true history of your province can be written. That work, begun by the Central Provinces Government four years ago, has, we understand, been suspended, but with the help of the local scholars it may be easily accomplished.

The business of the meeting commenced with the reading of a paper by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Nagpur. Thereafter His Excellency left the meeting and Mr. Jadunath Sarkar was voted to the chair. The remaining papers or their summaries were then read. Before the conclusion of the meeting Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, speaking on behalf of the University of Nagpur, moved a vote of thanks to the chair. This was seconded by Mr. J. B. Raju, the Local Officer, and carried by acclamation. Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham of Calcutta proposed and Rai Bahadur Sheo Narain of Lahore seconded a vote of thanks to the Local Government, the co-opted members from the Central Provinces, the University of Nagpur and the Local Officer, for the assistance rendered by them to the Commission. The meeting lasted till 4 p.m.

The Historical Exhibition organized in connection with the Nagpur session of the Commission was formally opened by His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces at 4-30 p.m. on the same day in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. His Excellency, on arrival, was photographed with the permanent and co-opted members of the Commission. The members of the Commission were entertained at a Tea Party at the Exhibition Hall by the Secretary. The exhibits

came from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions, and private individuals in Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad (Deccan), Central Provinces and the Andhra area of the Madras Presidency. A brief description of some of the exhibits is given below.

The exhibits from the Central Provinces collected through the efforts of Mr. J. B. Raju, the Local Officer, comprised of old costumes of the Mughal Court presented by the Emperors, swords, guns, bows and arrows of historical interest, original sanads bearing the seals and signatures of reigning Peshwas, old copper coins of the Peshwa period, and autograph letters of Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) recently unearthed from the archives of the Central Provinces Secretariat. Among the exhibits from Delhi were a number of very valuable paintings from the unique collection of Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and *Rais* of Delhi, who belongs to the family of the Treasurers to the Mughal Emperors. For the first time in the history of the family this collection was allowed to leave the confines of Delhi for exhibition elsewhere. The paintings of the *darbar* of the Emperor Akbar and of Shah Jahan on the Peacock Throne and Jahangir's marriage with Raja Man Singh's sister, were pronounced to be the best historical pictures of this collection. The exhibits collected in Calcutta from official sources included the Treaty with King Christen VIII of Denmark for transferring the Dutch Settlements in India to the English, the holograph minute of Lord William Bentinck on the general question of the abolition of the practice of *Sati* and other documents on the abolition of this practice in the dominion of the Raja of Nagpur in particular. There were also Leckie's description of a journey from Calcutta to Nagpur and from there to Benares in 1700 with an account of Nagpur, the facsimile of the seals of Shivaji, *farmans* relating to British trade in India (1633-1712), correspondence with C. W. Malet, Resident at Poona, on the subject of the establishment of a fixed and regular *dak* between Western India and the Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George. Among the exhibits obtained in Calcutta from non-official sources were an album of the portraits of the Ghori kings prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jahan for his Royal library, autograph *farmans* of the Mughal Emperors, extremely rare copies of the Quran in Kufi characters and a first edition of the Bible in Bengali published in 1802 by the Mission Press at Serampore, Bengal. A number of rare and interesting exhibits were brought from Hyderabad by Mr. S. Khursheed Ali, the representative of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government. There was also a copy of the Quran written by Aurangzib himself belonging to Mr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad. Mr. R. Subba Rao, one of the representatives of the Andhra University, brought with him old coins, copper plate sanads, palmyra leaf manuscripts of considerable interest.

The Exhibition proved to be a great success and in response to numerous requests from the public, it was kept open till the evening of the 10th December. A complete list of the exhibits will be found in Appendix H.

On the morning of the 6th December the members of the Commission visited the Fort, the Old Residency, the Museum and the Record Rooms of the Central Provinces Secretariat at Nagpur. - On the same day the members' meeting was held in the Committee Room of the University of Nagpur from 11 a.m. to 1-30 p.m.

The Local Officer Mr. J. B. Raju gave a dinner party in honour of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the 4th December. The members of the Commission had also the honour of dining with His Excellency the Governor at Government House, on the 5th December. There was also an after-dinner Reception at Government House which was attended by the elite of Nagpur. On the afternoon of the 6th December the members of the Commission were entertained by the Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Minister for Education, Central Provinces, at an "At Home" at the Telenkheri Gardens.

English Residents with Mahadji Sindhia.

(By Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E.)

Maharaja Mahadji Sindhia rose from the position of a village headman (*patil*) to that of the dominating force in the politics of Upper India for nearly one generation. The more deeply the original records of this period are studied, the more clearly does the greatness of his character come to light and win our admiration for his sense of reality in politics, his accurate perception of the forces of the age, his unflinching judgment of the character of men, and his power of choosing the right instruments for his purposes and giving them his full confidence and perfect latitude of action. As a mediator between the English and the Peshwa, and later between the Emperor of Delhi and the rest of India, Sindhia was the pivot of Indian politics, and this position of unique importance and power he used for the good of all parties.

Only a small portion of the contemporary records concerning him has been printed, *viz.*, the state-papers of Warren Hastings ending early in 1785, edited by Forrest (with a few letters of Cornwallis in Ross's *Cornwallis Correspondence*), and the Marathi despatches from Hingane, the vakil at Delhi, to Nana Farnavis, published by Parasnis (supplemented by "echoes" in Khare). But there are four other sources in manuscript, namely, (i) a very large mass of despatches and news-letters in the Imperial Record Office, (ii) the Persian memoirs (*Ibratnamah*) of Fakir Khair-ud-din, who was the confidential adviser of Shah Alam II.'s heir, (iii) collections of Persian news-letters now in Poona, and (iv) Marathi despatches preserved in private possession at Kotah and other places.

The earlier dealings of the English with Mahadji Sindhia, ending with the conclusion of the first Maratha War, are known to students of Warren

Hastings's administration. In this paper I shall try to illustrate the later relations between these two Powers.

DAVID ANDERSON.

We know that Colonel Muir concluded a peace between Sindhia and the English Government in October 1781 (Forrest's *Selections*, iii, 813). On 5th November following, Hastings sent from Benares Mr. David Anderson on a deputation to Mahadji, after delegating to him "the full powers and authority vested in me (W. H.) by the Governor-General and Council for the purpose of negotiating and finally concluding a treaty of peace between the Company and the Maratha State". (Forrest, iii. 821.) With Mr. David Anderson went his brother Lt. James Anderson as his assistant. David wrote from Sindhia's camp, on 27th February 1783, reporting the ratification of the treaty with the Maratha State after a long delay. Extracts from his diary in Sindhia's camp in June of that year have been printed by (Forrest, iii. 976.)

David Anderson's position was a very difficult one, because the English rejected the Maratha claim to *chauth* from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and at the same time declined to make an offensive and defensive alliance with Sindhia. Happily, Tipu Sultan, the most disturbing factor in Indian politics at this time, was a menace to the English and Maratha Governments alike, and therefore Sindhia did not find it politic to break with the English. Mahadji's chief minister, the Bhao Bakhshi, was of a conciliatory disposition and he loyally co-operated with Anderson in promoting peace and amity between their masters.

David Anderson became in time a warm supporter of Sindhia and used to promote the latter's interests whenever consulted by the Governor-General. Mahadji, in his turn, had a great liking for him. [*Ibratnamah*, iii. f. 60.]

JAMES ANDERSON.

At the end of 1783, D. Anderson's weak state of health, due to a recent dangerous illness, induced him to resolve on a voyage to Europe. But early next year Hastings decided on a visit to Lucknow, and he called David to his side, as he had a high opinion of his capacity. James Anderson succeeded his brother as English Resident with Sindhia. A curious example of the punctiliousness of the decadent Mughal Court is given by Khair-uddin in his account of James Anderson's first audience with the heir-apparent of Delhi (on 20th November 1784). The Hindu Mahadji, the Christian Anderson and the Muslim Shahzada had three different dinner hours and it was long found impossible to choose a time when all three of them could be brought together without inconvenience to any of them! [*Ibratnamah*, f. 68.]

Major Browne had been appointed as English Resident with the Delhi Emperor in March 1783. Two years later, the acting Governor-General, Sir John Macpherson, recalled Browne to Calcutta, ordering James Anderson

to look after the British interests in Delhi, as Sindhia now virtually controlled the Emperor. Browne took leave of Shah Alam II on 19th April 1785. In his despatches he wrote against Mahadji as a man of rough temper and utter faithlessness. [*Ibrat.*, f. 75.]

Sir Charles Malet was appointed by Hastings, subject to Sindhia's consent, British Resident at Poona for the purpose of arranging an alliance against Tipu Sultan. "And in order that he might receive complete instructions in the general line of his negotiations and be enabled to establish a concerted plan of correspondence with our minister at the Court of Mahadji Sindhia, he was ordered to go immediately to the camp of Sindhia, at Agra, as on his way to Calcutta".¹ [Forbes.] He reached Sindhia's camp near Mathura on 17th May 1785 and lodged with James Anderson. He had his audience with Mahadji on the 20th of that month, and with the Emperor on 5th June following. (It is amusing to compare the accounts of these interviews as given from the English side in Forbes and from the Mughal point of view in *Ibratnamah*.) "The object of Sir Charles Malet's mission to Mahadji Sindhia having been accomplished by the conciliation of that chieftain to the establishment of his embassy at the Court of Poona, he received orders early in July to proceed to Calcutta, there to receive the requisite powers and instructions from the Governor-General.....He left Agra on 21st July for Cownpur, the nearest military station belonging to the E. I. Co." (Forbes, ii. 433.)

CAPTAIN KIRKPATRICK.

In November 1786, Captain Kirkpatrick succeeded James Anderson as British Resident in Sindhia's Court. He was by temperament less tactful than the Andersons in dealing with a man of Sindhia's character and position. A petty brawl between their followers led to a rupture between him and the Marathas, but the breach was quickly closed by Lord Cornwallis's wisdom and strength. I describe it below from *Ibratnamah*.

On 24th January 1787, a washerman of Raja Deshmukh [Mahadji's son-in-law and commander] was washing clothes on the bank of the Jamuna at Delhi, when a sepoy of Kirkpatrick's escort came there for his bath and forbade the man to wash clothes there. The man did not listen to him. High words passed between the two. The sepoy hit the washerman on the head with a stick. Raja Deshmukh's Maratha followers crowded on the bank, seized the sepoy and beat him severely, breaking his arms and legs. The Company's sepoy brought their wounded comrade away to Captain Kirkpatrick, clamouring for justice. The Captain ordered them to seize

¹ His journey is described (from the diary of his surgeon Mr. Cruso) in Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, 2nd ed., ii. 388—421. Leaving Surat on 12th March 1785, he reached Agra (via Ujjain and Gwalior) on 9th May and was lodged in the Taj Mahal. The object of the visit was (as Khair-ud-din bluntly puts it) to get Sindhia's permission for Malet's embassy to Poona. Mahadji delayed giving his assent, as direct negotiations between Bombay and Poona would have lessened his own importance as the recognized mediator between the English and the Peshwa's Government. But Anderson's tact overcame his objection.

the offender, on hearing of which the Maratha soldiers prepared for battle... Then Kirkpatrick thought better of it, and wrote to Raja Deshmukh demanding that the offender should be arrested and sent to the English for punishment in their presence. Murar Rao, the steward of Raja Deshmukh, replied that he would hold an inquiry and when the originator of the riot was traced he would be delivered to the English.

Kirkpatrick, on getting this evasive reply, immediately left Safdar Jang's mansion where he was quartered, and marching out of the city encamped at that Nawab's tomb, six miles outside. Next day, Murar Rao visited him for settling the dispute. But Kirkpatrick persisted in his original demand, and wrote to Mahadji, complaining against Raja Deshmukh. On the other side the backs of the Maratha sardars were also up; it became a point of honour with them to protect their countrymen who were involved in the fracas on the river-bank.

Kirkpatrick, after a few days' halt, marched from Delhi straight to Sindhia's camp and demanded the punishment of the offenders. The Maharaja delayed and wrote to the Governor-General against Kirkpatrick. After vainly waiting for over a month, Kirkpatrick left Sindhia's camp for Farrukhabad, entrusting his duties to Mr. Macpherson.

Meantime, Sindhia's letter had reached Lord Cornwallis, then on a journey to Upper India. The Governor-General wrote a grave letter of advice to Kirkpatrick, which the latter rightly took to be a reflection on his diplomatic skill and patience. The Captain's reply, dated 16th March 1787, is a very long document, explaining away all the charges against him and reviewing the situation. It contains a sketch of Sindhia's character drawn by an acute if hostile observer. He writes:—

“ A continuance of the misunderstanding which has hitherto unhappily subsisted between Sindhia and me, when combined and co-operating with other fears and suspicions, which are constantly excited in his mind by the most frivolous circumstances...would have a tendency to increase the natural jealousy and distrust with which he views all our proceedings. That our personal differences, however, should produce such an effect as this, is owing entirely to the peculiarity of his character.....

“ My sole claim on him has been for such a return of respect and attention as I judged due to my situation and essential to the honour and interests of your Lordship's Government.”

“ Your Lordship may confidently rely on my proceeding with the utmost caution...I never under any circumstances proposed taking so strong a measure as the formal quitting of Sindhia's camp; and as to threatening him, on any occasion, with the resentment of our Government,...Your Lordship does not think it possible for me to be guilty of so outrageous and unwarrantable a conduct.”

Next year (1788) William Palmer became Resident with Sindhia, and when Mahadji went to Poona (1792) on the visit from which he never returned in

life, Palmer continued to stay in Sindhia's territory at Gwalior, Ujjain and other places.

A Proposal for the Establishment of an Improved System of Telegraphic Communication, by Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald of the E. I. Coy's Military Service.

Based on papers in the possession of his great-great-grand-daughter Mrs. A. C. Robertson.¹

(By R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., I.E.S.)

The great war against the French Republic, and against Napoleon Bonaparte brought very acutely before the minds of naval and military men the necessity of inventing some method for the rapid transmission of messages. Signalling has from early times been a study of mankind; some savage communities possess methods of accurate and long distance communication which are not understood by communities far better mentally equipped, for instance the drumming signals of the African tribes: these and similar methods are known to every one who reads the histories and records of travellers. In Europe, at the close of the eighteenth-century signalling had not progressed beyond the stage of semaphores, and even the semaphore system in use laboriously spelt out words. The navy had a system of flag signalling which was in advance of the system used on land and of which the chief feature was the use of a code: it will be remembered that "England" was substituted for "Nelson" in the famous Trafalgar signal because there was a code flag for England, whereas "Nelson" would have required spelling out by flags.

Among the officers who were working at the close of the nineteenth-century on improving the signalling system were Admiral Sir Home Popham, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald of the East India Company's Service.

By the kindness of Colonel Macdonald's great-great-grand-daughter, I have been able to see the correspondence in which this officer tried to obtain recognition, not only by the Company, but by almost every Government in Europe of his system of telegraphy. It is interesting to note that Colonel Macdonald's book is called "Telegraphic Communication", although the use of electricity for telegraphic purposes was not at that time understood in Europe.

Colonel Macdonald, who retired from the Company's service in 1797, had been Chief Engineer and Commandant of Artillery at Sumatra. He was a

¹ Cf.—Also Imperial Record Dept. General Letters of July 1st, September 10th and October 26th, 1818. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. III, p. 437, (note). Bengal: Past and Present. Vol. II—No. 3, July 1908. "Places of Historic Interest in the Hooghly District."

man of considerable scientific attainments and was a Fellow of the Royal Society as well as belonging to other scientific associations. He had an inventive turn of mind and invented a system of fuses for artillery purposes that received much attention and was tested by the order of the Master-General of Ordnance at Woolwich before a Board of General and Field Officers of the Royal Artillery, but the system was rejected. He was also interested in music.

In 1806 Colonel Macdonald submitted to the Admiralty "a project of a telegraphic system", to use his own words. It did not attract favourable attention so Colonel Macdonald published a treatise on telegraphic communication and to "evince the practicability and facility of his system he wrote two dictionaries, one of which lies at the Admiralty, the other at the House Guards." These "dictionaries" or codes, as we should now call them, were accompanied by various models by means of which, with the assistance of the "dictionaries" experiments could be made to test or demonstrate the efficacy of the system. Lord Mulgrave who was First Lord of the Admiralty under Lord Liverpool, referred the matter to Mr. Barrow, a distinguished scientist, who declared the system of Colonel John Macdonald to be by much the best of more than fifty submitted to the Admiralty, and that the "dictionary" would supply a very marked want. Mr. Barrow wrote as follows. "Southampton, 1st September 1814. Dear Sir..... I have no hesitation in saying that your system of Telegraphic Communications embraces everything that can possibly be desired and much more than we have any occasion for its application to Naval purposes, as far as the Admiralty is concerned: but I think it will be found most admirably adapted for carrying on a correspondence between the interior frontier line of India and the several Presidencies; and it has very frequently occurred to me that such lines of communication would be of infinite use to give timely notice of unexpected or sudden movements of the neighbouring Powers.....". Similar approval was received from the Adjutant-General of the Army, and the system was explained by the inventor when he exhibited it to H. R. H. the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief.

Previous to these marks of approval by the military and naval authorities, the system had been brought to the notice of the East India Company in 1811 by one of the Directors. The Court of Directors instructed the Committee of Shipping, assisted by certain co-opted experts to examine it. Colonel Macdonald on many occasions explained in person to this Committee how his system works, giving actual experiments: the result of these sittings was a somewhat guarded expression of approval by the Committee, worded as follows. "East India House, 20th June 1811.

SIR, the Committee of Shipping of the East India Company have directed me to express their thanks for the explanation you favoured them with respecting your invention of boarded telegraphs for land communication and to acquaint you that the Committee consider the same very ingenious and ap-

pearing in their judgment to possess great advantages over the common telegraph." (Signed) J. Morrice.

The system was apparently opposed by Mr. Joseph Cotton, at one time Chairman of the Board of Directors. Mr. Cotton preferred the system invented or improved by a Captain Lynes, and he used his great influence with the Board to obtain the adoption of this system. Colonel Macdonald felt that Mr. Cotton had not dealt very fairly with him, and his correspondence shows that this view was shared by others, notably Sir McGregor Murray. The naval telegraphic plan for which Mr. Cotton succeeded in obtaining the Company's patronage was, according to Colonel Macdonald's view, a much inferior system unsupported by any of the impressive commendations which he had obtained for his own. A somewhat caustic correspondence between Mr. Cotton and Colonel Macdonald ensued, in which Colonel Macdonald appears to have had distinctly the best of the argument, but, in his own words "it was found indispensably necessary to terminate the correspondence as the Chairman (Mr. Cotton) either would not or could not reply to it", but he fired a parting shot in a letter to Mr. W. F. Elphinstone in which he points out that the Company's Committee of Shipping had approved of his system and that the Chairman was deliberately ignoring the recorded opinion of the Committee whose opinion should naturally carry the most weight in deciding on matters of such a nature; and that "Mr. Cotton, the avowed patron of a publication which has deprived me of a clear right, will find himself egregiously mistaken if he thinks that I am to be intimidated into a duty that I owe to my own reputation and to the Public, independent of the decided justice of my claims". So the old warrior was left, firing his guns to the last, and evidently making a great nuisance of himself, to judge from the mass of non-committal acknowledgments which he received from various eminent people to whom he sent copies of his book. These included most of the Crowned heads of Europe, including the Kings of Prussia, Spain, France and the Netherlands, as well as various Foreign Ambassadors: among the English notabilities who received and acknowledged copies were H. R. H. the Duke of York, Lords Mulgrave, Bathurst, Liverpool, Melville, Castlereagh, the Dukes of Portland, and Buckingham, Sir Charles Wood, Sir Home Popham, Sir Richard Bicherton, etc., the collection of papers making a fine array of autographs of some of the most distinguished figures in a great period of English history. According to Colonel Macdonald², he worked for nearly a year, for 8 hours daily, on his "dictionary", during which he had "gone twice over Johnson's large dictionary with a close attention".

We must now turn to the "Dictionary", of which a copy exists in the Imperial Library in Calcutta, and most readers will feel some sympathy for Mr. Joseph Cotton's attitude towards the scheme which he was called upon to examine for it was extremely complicated: the preface to the book, however, concluded with a paragraph which will find a grateful echo in the hearts of all Government servants in India: "Early habits of application and

² Colonel Macdonald seems to have been the first man to see the necessity of a code; although our system of code flags had been in use for some time in the Navy.

study," it states, "render your civil and military servants in India a very superior description of men, as is sufficiently evinced by the integrity and ability marking their conduct by a multiplicity of works distinguished by profound thought, deep knowledge, lucid arrangement and elegant diction". With this satisfactory opinion of himself and his colleagues Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald proceeds to explain his system.

He saw quite rightly that the process of spelling by semaphore was "a creeping, operose and tedious process", to use his own words. A numerical system was therefore the best basis on which to work, and to attempt improvement. But in his desire, to provide for all possible eventualities, Colonel Macdonald overloaded his system of semaphoric telegraphy to an extent that made it hardly less tedious than signalling by letters. It had to be accompanied by a code book twice the size of any code book now in existence divided up into a series of numerical classes, which were in turn again divided numerically, until the very object for which telegraphy exists, namely, the rapid transmission of information, was cramped by the very intricate rules that accompanied the new method. Colonel Macdonald also invented what he called the military anthrope-telegraph for field service, which seems to have been, inspite of its cumbersome name, a valuable method on which the present system of "flag-wagging" is based. The necessity of signalling by night was not forgotten, and Colonel Macdonald contrived to make this even more complicated than his methods of signalling by day. The night system required the erection of many pillars, each representing a numerical class. Those who are interested in the study of early telegraphic systems will find it well worth their time to consult and study the book in which Colonel Macdonald sets forth his theories and inventions: its full title is "a treatise explanatory of a new system of naval, military, and political telegraphic communication, of general application.

By John Macdonald, Esqr., F.R.S., F.Ac.S., Late Lieut.-Colonel and Engineer."

As has been said, the system was refused by the East India Company much to the chagrin and annoyance of its inventor who, rightly or wrongly, considered that its rejection was due to Mr. Joseph Cotton's influence. He was not however discouraged, and in 1818 he wrote a long letter to the Earl of Liverpool, then Prime Minister of England, urging him to use his influence to have the system adopted at the Admiralty, and explains at great length its superiority over any other system. The letter closes in a curious manner, by suddenly referring to a subject which has, even in a most indirect way, only the faintest connection with signalling and telegraphy: the passage is as follows: "In looking over copies of my various letters to your Lordship, I find that in July 1815 I used the freedom of recommending the island of St. Hilda as a more secure place of confinement for Bonaparte than St. Helena. A considerable residence in the Latter island while waiting for a passage convinced me of the easy probability of escape from it. If

ever this is attempted, it will be by the French in his interests and ³who are, now, residing in America. The undertaking would be daring but not of very difficult execution. The vessels intended for the purpose would be provided with a steam apparatus. This would enable a considerable force employed to land simultaneously and with an allowed loss, in several places. The future disturber of the Peace of Europe might easily be thus rescued by a *coup de main*; while our Naval Force on the Station *could not move*, and while the military stationed on the higher ground, at a great distance from the Valley (*sic*) of Government, would be utterly unable to cope with the invaders. Man is an animal of habits, be they good or be they bad. A great majority of the present generation in France are attached to this Scourge of Europe. His appearance in France would renovate all the horrors which are past. Every possible argument is in favour of removing him to St. Hilda, from which escape would be utterly impossible, as the island is not assailable or in any way practicable for a landing in force. I have explained this serious subject to intelligent men who know both situations, and they perfectly coincide with me in my opinions."

The rest of the story of this invention is best told in the appended letters: no one who reads through the correspondence will fail to feel sympathy with this pertinacious and public-spirited officer in his attempts to obtain recognition for the device which he convinced himself was for the benefit of his country: at the same time the sighs of weariness which his handwriting obviously evoked in the Public Offices can almost be said to cling to the correspondence which his descendant, Mrs. A. C. Robertson, has so kindly permitted me to examine.

APPENDED LETTERS.

I.

SIR,

Having laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your letter advising the delivery of fifty copies of your general system of Telegraphic Communication, I have to acquaint you that agreeably to the intimation conveyed to you in my letter of the 9th April 1816, a warrant for the sum of four hundred pounds now lies in the Company's Treasury payable to you on account of the said publication.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES COBB, Secy.

EAST INDIA HOUSE;

The 10th May 1817.

Colonel JAMES MACDONALD.

³ This sentence is given as it stands; its meaning is obvious, but the wording is obscure.

11.

“ Extract.—Public letter to Bengal, dated the 3rd September 1817.

Paragraph 5. Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald formerly of our Military Service having composed a work describing a general system of telegraphic communications, which has been approved of by persons of consideration here, we thought it right to encourage him to print the work, and having received from him a certain number of copies of it, we now transmit them to our different Presidencies that they may come under the observation of men whose employment or studies have led them to the consideration of subjects of that nature, and we desire to be informed of the benefit which may be derived from them by our service.

6. You will receive 70 copies of the work together with one set of the models described in the work and intended to exemplify the principles of it.”*

“ Sent per licensed ship *Monarch*, 6th September 1817.”

The books duly arrived, and were acknowledged by the General Department of the Company in a letter, dated July 1st, 1818, the copies being distributed to the various branches of the military department. The models of the semaphores were acknowledged in a letter, dated September 10th, 1818, and were sent to the Telegraphic Committee for a detailed report on their merits, both as compared with the system then in use and with other models recommended to the Company.

The Telegraph Committee submitted their report on October 26th, 1818; it is a lengthy and exhaustive document which commences with a history of semaphoring from the earliest times. This report though signed and submitted by the Telegraph Committee, was really written by Captain G. Swiney, the Secretary of the Committee; an officer, I imagine, after Colonel Macdonald's own heart, being as enthusiastic on the subject and prolix upon paper as the Colonel himself.

The gist of the report was that Colonel Macdonald's semaphore was an unnecessarily large instrument, unfit for the country; its construction was such that the wings, shutters and pulleys employed were very liable to be affected by the action of heat and moisture. Moreover it was too complicated in design: the first requisite of a good telegraphic system was to establish and put into use “ an apparatus of a nature so simple as to render the chances of embarrassment very improbable”, in other words, Government wanted a simple fool-proof instrument, impervious to the action of weather, and easily worked by Indian troops. The report was therefore unfavourable, “ to the establishment of Colonel Macdonald's system but his publication must be admitted to contain much useful information and his invaluable dictionary in particular, if adapted to a different system of enumeration would prove of the most essential service.”

* Among the signatories were Charlesfield, and Joseph Cotton.

III.

The last letter is terser and less complimentary. It runs as follows:

Admiralty, 8th February 1819.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, in which you suggest that you should be authorised to examine and report upon all the plans which have been received at the Admiralty office respecting Telegraphic Communication. Having no reason to suppose that the Public Service would be benefited by such an examination, I do not feel myself at liberty to recommend to the Board of Admiralty a compliance with your suggestion.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

MELVILLE.

A Visit to the Parasnis Museum.

(By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S.)

Last November, Professor B. P. Patwardhan and myself were deputed by Government to visit Satara, primarily with a view to discovering whether there were any materials for our proposed Source Book of Maratha History in the Parasnis Manuscript Collection. The results of a rather hasty investigation may be of interest to students of Maratha History.

The Parasnis collection of Marathi Mss consists of nearly one hundred 'rumals' varying in size from several hundred documents to a few dozen. Out of these about seven or eight consist of documents which have already appeared in the *Itihasa Sangraha* and the *Bharata Varsha*. Others contain letters, selections from the Orme Mss, fragments of Bakhars, and English versions of Bakhars and other documents. An account of some of these which we opened and investigated may interest you.

(1) A bundle entitled *Original Notes of Malharrao Chitnis* (No. 5 on the printed list). This contained a very old fragment of about 30 pages, beginning and end missing, of what appeared to be the original Ms. of the Chitnis bakhar. It also contained a fragment of what is known as the "91 Kalami bakhar", and their proximity leads us to suspect that Chitnis had actually utilised the latter in the preparation of his work. Another very old document which we here came across in the same bundle makes an interesting reference to the author of the *Siva Bharata*, that remarkable Sanskrit poem about

Sivaji which created a stir a few years ago when it was discovered in the Tanjore Palace Library. It says that a certain Brahman named Paramanand composed a *sloka* in connection with Sivaji's coronation to be put on his seal, and Sivaji was pleased and gave the composer the title of 'Kavindra'. If, as it seems, this shews that the author of the *Siva Bharata* was really a contemporary of Sivaji this greatly increases the historical value of the poem.

(2) We also investigated a so-called *Bakhar of Sivaji* No. 38 on the list, and discovered it to be an early version in Marathi prose of the *Siva Bharata* mentioned above. Perhaps it was made from a Tamil version, as such versions were known to exist prior to the discovery of the Sanskrit original.

(3) We then turned our attention to a *Genealogy of the Bhonsle Family*, No. 31 on the list. This turned out to be an English translation of a Marathi work, unknown to us, called the *Pratap Vamshavali*, made by order of Colonel Close, Resident at Poona, for Major Wilkes, the well-known author of *Historical sketches of the South of India*. It bears a very close resemblance to the '91 Kalami bakhar' mentioned above, and to the Rairi bakhar, of which a translation was published by Sir G. W. Forrest in his selections from papers in the Bombay Secretariat. Further work on the genealogy of the various bakhars is obviously called for.

(4) We then investigated a modern Marathi Ms. of a History of the Deccan down to 1656, entitled *Itihasa Kalpa Druma*, No. 37, on the list, compiled by a nameless Marathi chronicler from Persian Sources, which he quotes in his introduction. It appeared to contain very little that was new, but should be examined by a scholar who is familiar with the Persian authorities for the period.

Of the other rumals, the most important appeared to be the six very large 'bundles of the correspondence of Nana Farnavis (Nos. 68-73 on the list). It is understood that Rao Bahadur Parasnis obtained these from Manaoli, Nana's country seat where his widow subsequently resided and was visited by Lord Valentia, Sir Arthur Wellesley and other distinguished persons. These await investigations and should prove of great interest. Other important 'rumals' are the large bundles of papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia (Nos. 82-84 of the list) and Parasuram Bhao Patwardhan, the reports of Hingne, the Peshwa's *vakil* at Delhi, and the very entertaining news letters about the British in Bombay, submitted by the agents of Nana Farnavis to the Court of Poona (No. 86). One amusing feature of these reports is the use of disguised names, in order to render the letters unintelligible if they fell into wrong hands; e.g., 'Kumbh'—England, 'Ketu'—General Hornby, 'Kanya'—Madras, as we learn from a key which we discovered among the documents. The efficiency of the Maratha intelligence department is shewn by the exact details given not only about the numbers, training and discipline of the Company's troops, but also about the financial condition of the Bombay Treasury, and even the personal character of the various Governors on their arrival to take up office. Only the other day, we realized the importance in war of studying the enemy's psychology. One very human touch is found in

a letter complaining that General Meadows had not asked the writer to take a chair when he called as his predecessor had been in the habit of doing, which act of discourtesy he requests Nana Farnavis to report to Sir Charles Malet, the British Resident; and speaking of Sir Charles Malet reminds us that lack of time prevented us from investigating the piquant news letters about him to the Peshwa by Mahadji Chintaman (Nos. 27-28 of the list) which we were compelled to leave to a subsequent occasion.

An Adventurous Madras Civilian : James Strange, 1753—1840.

(By A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar, M.A., L.T.)

Introduction.—The very keen interest at present evinced in America in the personality and activities of James Strange, the first Englishman, who went to the North-West coast of America after Captain Cook, the celebrated circumnavigator of the world, is a tribute to the memory of the adventurous Madras Civilian. It was on the initiative of Mr. John Hose, the present Provincial Librarian and Archivist of the Government of British Columbia, and through the kind offices of His Excellency Lord Goschen, the Governor of Madras, that Mr. Strange's "Journal and Narrative of the Commercial Expedition to the North-West Coast of America" came to be published during this year for the first time by the Madras Record Office. It is doubly appropriate that a Journal and Narrative of a Madras Civilian, presented in 1787 to a former Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald Campbell, should have seen the light of day under the auspices of the present Governor.

His relations.—James Charles Stewart Strange was the eldest son of Sir Robert Strange, the celebrated English artist and engraver, who was knighted in 1787 on the publication of his famous engraving of West's picture of the Apotheosis of the Royal children, and the elder brother of Sir Thomas Strange,¹ the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Madras and the famous author of the first book on "The elements of Hindu Law", which remained a great authority on the subject for many years to come. A close study of James Strange will show that he was a chip of the old block, not unworthy of his celebrated father, Sir Robert, and of his no less famous brother, Sir Thomas.

His varied but chequered official career.—Looking through several records still unpublished, it has become possible to gather together the threads of Strange's varied but chequered official career. Born in 1753, he was admitted to the East India Company's service in 1771 and was first employed as a Writer in 1773. In 1776 he was the Under Searcher at the Sea Gate of Fort St. George² and became Factor in 1778. On account of his ill-health,

¹ Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XIX, pp. 24, 27, 28.

² Public Consultation, Vol. 116, Dec. 1776.

which necessitated a sea voyage to England, he took long leave in 1780³. After a period of five years, with the permission of the Court of Directors, he returned to Bombay with his standing in service. Soon after his return, he obtained the necessary leave of absence from Madras and led between 1785-87 the now famous commercial expedition to the North-West Coast of America. Returning from the expedition he was posted as Pay-Master and Storekeeper at Tanjore in 1787.⁴ In 1791 his wife died in Madras and her remains were brought to Swartz's Church, Tanjore, where there is a marble tomb inscribed to her memory by her loving husband.⁵ It has been said of her that her many virtues and distinguished and amiable talents rendered her loss a subject of sincere regret to her several friends and society. In 1792 Strange was in temporary charge of the Eastern Division of Tanjore as Collector.⁶ As Pay-Master at Tanjore he uniformly conducted himself to the satisfaction of the superiors and the Board of Revenue expressed their entire approbation of his service as Collector of Tanjore.⁷ Upon the restoration of the country to Maharajah Sarabhoji, the latter bore personal testimony to his equitable management.⁸ Strange's private affairs necessitating his presence in England, he resigned the service in 1795.⁹ After an absence of nine years, he came a third time to India in 1804,¹⁰ naming as his securities his own brother, Sir Thomas, and Alexander Thompson.¹¹ He was appointed in 1805 as Military Pay-Master at Fort St. George and Pay-Master of Extraordinaries¹² and was elevated as an Acting Member of Council.¹³ On his reversion he became Magistrate and Collector of Pondicherry in 1806¹⁴ and in 1807 was appointed as First Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit, Southern Division.¹⁵ In 1811 he became Sub-Treasurer and Post-Master General.¹⁶ In 1812 he was appointed Senior Member of the Board of Trade¹⁷ and again Acting Member of Council¹⁸ and also Chief Judge of the Court of Sadr and Fauzdari Adawlat in Madras. On his reversion to the Board of Trade, he tendered his resignation on 30th December 1815¹⁹ and the then Governor of Madras, the Right Honourable Hugh Elliott, was pleased to bring to the notice of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors his faithful discharge of duties²⁰ during the long period of service of 40 years under the Company.

³ Public Consultation, Vol. 123, March 1780.

⁴ Military Miscellany Book, Vol. 17, July 1787.

⁵ 'List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments' by Mr. J. J. Cotton, page 319.

⁶ Military Miscellany Book, Vol. 137, March 1792.

⁷ Public Despatches to England, Vol. 33, 24th April 1795.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Public Consultation, Vol. 199, April 1795.

¹⁰ Public Despatches from England, Vol. 107, 27th June 1804.

¹¹ Public Consultation, Vol. 295, March 1805.

¹² Military Miscellany Book, Vol. 74, March 1805.

¹³ Public Consultation, Vol. 296, March 1805.

¹⁴ Public Consultation, Vol. 316, September 1806.

¹⁵ Judicial Consultation, Vol. 29, July 1807.

¹⁶ Public Consultation, Vol. 385, September 1811.

¹⁷ Public Consultation, Vol. 396, July 1812.

¹⁸ Public Consultation, Vol. 406, March 1813.

¹⁹ Public Consultation, Vol. 434, January 1816.

²⁰ Public Despatches to England, Vol. 42, 30th April 1816.

From the above outline, it can be seen that James Strange had a varied but chequered official career. He rose from the position of a Writer to that of an Acting Member of Council and President of the Board of Trade and served in varied capacities as Pay-Master, Post-Master General, Collector and Chief Judge. His two periods of long absence of five and ten years (including one coupled with resignation) were condoned by the Company and each time he was restored to his rank in service without break. On more than one occasion he was even promoted over the heads of his seniors on account of his marked ability. His name has been mentioned more than once in the Despatches on account of his able and conscientious discharge of duties.

The Great Adventure—Preliminaries.—The most memorable and interesting portion of his career is the part he played in the great venture to the North-West Coast of America. The perusal of the published account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage first inspired him with the idea of a commercial expedition to the North-West Coast of America. Soon after his arrival in Bombay in 1785 he was lucky enough to meet there his friend and the famous Publicist, Mr. David Scott, afterwards Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. The latter not only entered heartily into his scheme but adopted it on a very liberal and grand scale and became eventually the chief patron of the expedition. A well-digested plan was also submitted²¹ to and approved by the Bombay Government.²² Strange obtained the necessary leave of absence from Madras and David Scott entrusted him with the sole control and direction of the expedition and gave him full discretion to choose his own officers. The Bombay Government showed its sympathy by sparing two gentlemen from their marine, a military commissioned officer and a party of picked soldiers to accompany the expedition.

Nature.—In the main, however, it was a conjoint commercial venture undertaken under prospects of private advantage of David Scott and James Strange in which the one largely shouldered the finances and the other undertook the actual direction and management of the expedition.

Equipment.—The object of the expedition was primarily to establish a new branch of commerce with the North-West Coast of America and China and secondarily to carry out an extensive navigation through a considerably unexplored part of the Pacific coast, with a view to discovery wherever possible. For his own part Strange had two other inducements, as he himself tells us, to undertake the expedition, *viz.*, a pardonable vanity of recommending himself to the notice and approbation of his Hon'ble employers and a laudable desire of obtaining an independent means of livelihood. With the above objects in view, the expedition was launched from Bombay in December 1795 with two vessels, the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment* of 350 and 150 tons each under Captains Laurie and Guise respectively, well built and well coppered. The vessels were manned by Europeans and officered by men of first rate ability in the mercantile marine. Many of them were men of

²¹ Bombay—Secret and Political Department Diary, Vol. 32 of 1785.

²² *Ibid.*

science and the first five in rank had the honour of serving as lieutenants in the British Navy. Most of the officers were correct lunar observers and there was one in each vessel well versed in the art of drawing and survey. The best mathematical instruments of all kinds were provided and the vessels started with every store that England or India could procure. No expense was spared to equip the expedition in the best manner possible.

Story of the Expedition—Route.—With a view to lessen at the outset the cost of the expedition, in so far as it was possible, it was first proposed to go to the Malabar Coast and purchase there sandalwood and other articles for the China market before going to America. But it was soon found that not a single rupee could be invested there and Strange therefore sailed straight from Cochin on 1st January 1786 directly to the North-West Coast of America, with the thousand and one cares incidental to the leader of such a voyage.

Sojourn at Dutch Batavia.—Strange issued certain disciplinary rules and regulations to the captains under him at the very outset of the voyage. The first fifteen days were spent in adventures and hair breadth escapes. At last the expedition landed in Java at Batavia, the most unwholesome part of the globe. The Dutch at Batavia with the sole exception of the *She-Bander* (Governor) were lacking in hospitality and were even jealous of the British expedition. It was surprising to Strange that in a place of such public resort as Batavia, the gateway of the Far East, though the Dutch Government drew a very considerable income annually by farming the revenues thereof, there should have been only one inn for the accommodation of all strangers both Gentile and Jew, without any restriction. Strange also comments in his Journal on the greed and avarice of the Dutch saying that "if the privilege of breathing could have been brought into account, it could not have been omitted". Strange took his bed on the first night of his landing in Room No. 18, but was shocked to learn the next morning that out of the very bed in which he had slept the previous night, no less than 7 bodies were carried to their graves during a residence of 5 weeks and that the room had not been aired even once during that period. When he reproached the landlord, the latter pointed out that there was really no room better than that in which he lay, the next best being one in which a man died of putrid fever only 48 hours before his arrival. The other rooms in the hotel were much worse and were known as "*Tavern Sepulchres*". Strange therefore decided to take his bed on a billiard table during his short sojourn at Batavia. The climate of Batavia soon began to tell upon the crew, who suffered from scurvy, fever and ague.

The expedition proceeded thence to the *Lucera* islands, *Borneo* and the *Celebes*, the very centre of a nest of pirates and at last reached the *Nootka* or *George's Sound*, where it stayed for more than a month.

Nootka Sound or George's Sound.—Not the least interesting part of the Narrative is Strange's delineation of the Natives of the *Nootka Sound*. They were depraved in regard to cleanliness and lived in beastly dirt and filth and were swarming with vermin. It was impossible to move a single

step, within or without doors, without being up to the ankles in mud, filth, etc. There was a very keen competition between three or four natives for the privilege of eating the livestock of a very lousy head. They had a propensity for theft and were also addicted to the barbarous practice of devouring human flesh. Strange saw with his own eyes a native putting one of the hands in his mouth, stripping it through his teeth and tearing off a considerable piece of the flesh, which he immediately devoured with much apparent relish to himself, but to the horror and detestation of Strange. This traffic in hands and legs was carried on with seeming secrecy with a view to enhance their value. But as against these vices, the natives were not without their redeeming features. They worshipped with great devotion a God known as Enkitsun, the 'God of Snow' with prayer accompanied by dance and song. Each family was governed by its own chief and goods stolen by the dependants were returned by the Chief, even though the theft was first committed with his connivance. The natives were very pacific in their disposition and Strange had never been under the necessity of resorting to violence in any one instance. This was no doubt due as much to his caution to prevent any mischief as to their good disposition. The inhabitants lived on terms the most amicable and friendly; in the married state they were exemplary in love and attachment to each other; their parental tenderness was no less striking, the virtue and fidelity of the female part of the society resisted bribes, which by a comparison of local values could not be estimated at less than £50,000. The females had a deserved ascendancy over the minds and actions of their husbands. But in his mercantile capacity, Strange dreaded the sight of a woman, for whenever they were present they presided over and directed all commercial transactions and as often as that was the case, he was obliged to pay three times the price for what in their absence he could have procured for one-third their value. The natives were extremely fond of music and had retentive memory. Strange once sang a song and it was immediately reproduced and was demanded again and again by the natives and soon became fashionable among them to such an extent that there was not a boy or girl in the village who did not sing it as correctly as he did with very great precision as to time and tune. Afterwards he seldom bought a skin without being called upon to sing. Strange began to exploit the passion of the natives for music for getting furs. He gave them a number of cymbals and got three or four skins for every pair of them. In this way he got possession of every rag of fur in the Sound. The furs were a sort of sanctuary for the vermin, which resorted to them as a refuge from human persecution. He had to disencumber the fur from filth and he devoted as many as eight hours daily in the art of dressing the skins, which greatly enhanced their value. However loathsome the task, it was greatly necessary. In the midst of his multifarious duties Strange neglected no opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of their language and added several hundred words to Captain Cook's vocabulary of the Nootka Sound language.

Surgeon Mackay left behind at Nootka Sound.—The season being already advanced and the remaining part of the voyage not yet performed, Strange

thought that the time had come to take leave of his Nootka friends. He left behind him Surgeon Mackay to gain a more intimate knowledge of their manners, laws and customs and record them for his benefit in the event of a second voyage. He commended Doctor Mackay to the care of the wealthiest chief in the Nootka Sound named Maquilla and supplied him with blankets, flannel, red coat, cap, beef, biscuits, books, paper, etc. Mackay was also given a musket to defend himself, if need be, against the attacks of the natives but not before Strange spectacularly demonstrated to the natives that the musket 'an instrument of death' was fatal only in the hands of a white man and that if any native touched it, it will not fail to hurt him. Such was the mildness and care of the natives that Surgeon Mackay stayed there comfortably many months and if he had been left to his free choice, he would not have quitted the port, but he was forcibly snatched away in the very next year by a vessel from England on the ground that he had no right to monopolise the trade.

Exploration and discovery.—Sailing north from the Nootka Sound, Strange discovered some islands which he named the Scott's Islands after the patron of the expedition. He explored an inlet which he called Oxenford Bay in honour of his respected friend Sir John Dalrymple. Then he sighted another Bay, which he named the Mansfield's Bay in honour of the great legal luminary and he discovered Queen Charlotte's Sound. Everywhere he took possession of the country in the name of His Britannic Majesty with the usual ceremonies of hoisting the colours and turning a turf. But in these places he did not come across many human beings and they seemed to have never before been visited by strangers. There was no prospect of getting furs. His provisions ran short and the interest of the voyage began to flag thereafter. Meanwhile he met with a rival expedition from Bengal in the Sea Otter under Tipping and its consort the Nootka, that came to explore the same coast on more or less same errand. That gave the *coup de grace* to all his future prospect of success. He foresaw the want of success in this first attempt and thought that a second voyage could not again be undertaken on the same scale of expense. By a prudential retrenchment by dismissing the Cook and reducing the Experiment, he continued the show a little longer. Strange thought it improper under the above circumstances to venture beyond what he had the means of repaying in the event of a total mis-carriage.

Causes of the failure of the expedition.—The expedition did not apparently succeed to the extent expected. Various causes no doubt co-operated in frustrating the flattering hopes of success formed in the infancy of the expedition such as scarcity of fur, shortage of provisions, deadly effects of scurvy and more than all the clashing interests of a rival expedition from Bengal. If he had known before he embarked on the expedition that the same scheme was attempted to be carried into execution by others, he would have totally relinquished all concern in the voyage. The failure of the expedition arose from circumstances which could neither be foreseen nor prevented. No blame should be imputed to the gentlemen who planned the enterprise and set out with every precaution to ensure success so far as it depended on human

endeavours and who had the misfortune to suffer by the disappointment for it would only be adding insult to injury.

Strange's idea of settlement.—The root cause of failure was, as Strange informs²³ us, that it was impossible for *individuals* as such, however well equipped, in the absence of a settlement there, to prosecute the fur trade in America without making it a matter of speculation and failure and no individual merchant can be justified in staking it, for when the mode of bartering with the natives is for a moment considered, it would be found that success or failure was dependent on the accidental circumstance of the prior arrival in port by 48 hours of any competitor who could buy up every fur that could be presented for sale. Individuals who should aim at establishment, would have factors to engage, military to enlist, with vessels, seamen and navigators to sail and all these were impossible for individuals to undertake. The company on the contrary, as a corporate body, could command all these, without putting themselves to such extra expenditure by merely lending its vessels that lay in the harbour. As little or no charges would be incurred in procuring furs, the whole expense would consist only of the standing charges of the colony. The East India Company was the best fitted to form a settlement in America. Three small vessels of 100 tons each would suffice for the purpose, two going backwards and forwards between China and America and the third going as far north as the Cook's river, gleaning whatever skins that might be had. The furs might be sold profitably either in China or in Japan and failing both the market of Europe was still open. He pointed out that all the essential requisites of a suitable settlement such as a central situation, healthy climate, convenient harbours, were all found in the Nootka Sound. A port might be established there with very little trouble which would afford a safe retreat from any sudden attack from the inhabitants. A body of 100 Europeans would be able to repel the united powers. The wholesome climate of Nootka would permit the growth of fruits, vegetables and greens. A fishery and timber trade might also be started as auxiliary occupations. The natives, far from opposing such a settlement, would even assist them in constructing buildings out of the fine timber in the neighbourhood. Their mildness and pacific disposition and their truth-loving nature were the other helpful factors. Strange even suggested that the criminals doomed to penal servitude in New Holland might perhaps be settled there. He ended by pointing out that if the Company did not take time by the forelock, there would remain for them only the empty honour of discovery, but that their rivals, the Dutch and the Russians, might perhaps reap all the advantages. It is unfortunate that this warning should have fallen on deaf ears and that the East India Company should not have taken up seriously the suggestions of Strange, which if they had done, should have redounded greatly to their credit and commercial prosperity.

Character.—Strange's faithful discharge of duties, his punctilious personal attention to details, his care for the sick while they suffered from

²³ Public Consultation, Vol. 148, 22nd February 1788, *vide* Appendix.

scurvy, his sanctimonious regard for truth, his sense of discipline, his readiness to meet every emergency, his capacity to bear any amount of exertion in times of need and his willingness to attend to even loathsome work are all writ large in the pages of his dignified Journal and Narrative which he has illustrated by a chart showing the track of the expedition.

Strange sacrificed his health, gave up sweets of society and his own family, willingly faced difficulties and dangers incidental to a sea adventure, underwent continual bodily labour and was prepared, day in and day out, to devote many hours even to loathsome occupations. Though he might have done it all partly from private motives, yet in view of the public good and the total loss of his whole property and the financial embarrassments he had unavoidably incurred, he petitioned the East India Company to compensate him giving some allowance as was not unusual—in pay and batta for the period he had lost on the expedition. The East India Company does not so far appear to have done anything to compensate him. Certainly Strange is as much entitled to credit as David Scott, who has earned the approbation of the Court of Directors, and he deserved far better treatment at the hands of the Company both from a personal as well as a public point of view, as he had been employed in pursuit of an object of national importance, and it is a thousand pities that the East India Company did not find its way either to honour him for the great venture and his sound and practical suggestion of forming a settlement in the Nootka Sound or to compensate him for his great financial losses.

APPENDIX.

PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS, VOL. 148.

Fort St. George, 22nd February 1788.

Read the following letter from Mr. Strange:—

To

The Hon'ble Major-General Sir ARCH: CAMPBELL, K. B.,
Governor in Council,
Fort St. George.

HON'BLE SIR,

When I had the honour of addressing you in Council some days ago, I then omitted the discussion of a subject, which, as considering it unconnected with the object of my letter, I conceived would come with more effect before your notice, stated as it now will be apart from the Personal application of that address, which your Secretary has signified to me, you have been pleased to refer to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

The subject to which I allude is the consideration of the practicability of forming a Settlement on the North-West Coast of America, as I am led to a discussion of this subject, merely from motives of Duty to my Hon'ble Employers, I shall therefore confine my remarks to such Points, as have come within my own Observation, and they shall be stated in as concise a manner as possible.

My Experience in this Voyage confirms me in the certainty, that it will be utterly impossible for individuals (subject to the participation of others) to continue to prosecute the Furr Trade to America, without making it a matter of such speculation, and thereby incurring such a probability of failure as no merchant can be justified in risking. When the mode of bartering with the natives is but for a moment considered, it will be found that the Event of the success or failure of a Voyage must be reduced to the accidental Circumstance of the prior arrival in Port, by eight and forty hours only, of the Party engaged in the same pursuit, and who will accordingly avail himself of such an advantage, by buying up every Furr that is presented for sale, to the utter ruin of his Competitor. It has been a matter of constant regret with me, that I had not known, before I embarked on the Expedition, that the same scheme was about to be carried into execution by others; because such were even then my ideas of the impossibility of succeeding where there were clashing interests, that, I should from that moment have totally relinquished all concern in the voyage.

My opinion being decidedly fixed that it will be found utterly impossible for Individuals to prosecute this Trade, with any probable certainty of advantage, it becomes a question next to consider, whether it would be for the interests of the East India Company to establish a Settlement on the Coast of America. To the consideration of this point alone I shall confine myself.

It appears evident to me, that no subjects of the British Empire are so situated, as to be able, with any probability of success, to form an Establishment on the North-West Coast of America, the East India Company alone excepted. They, on the contrary, are so circumstanced, as to incline me to believe that a Settlement might be made by them, with a very fair prospect of deriving considerable advantages both to themselves, and to the Public. Individuals, who should aid at Establishments, would have Factors to engage, Military to enlist, with vessels, seamen and Navigators to pay. The Company on the contrary can command all these, and many of this description, are now in their Service and Pay, without the opportunity of being useful either to themselves, or Employers. As little or no charge will be incurred in procuring such Furrs as are to be had, the whole Expence will be comprized in the standing Charges of the Colony, and Vessels employed in the Service. These I should imagine, might well be spared from the Bombay Marine, at least, until such time as the Experiment was made, whether the Trade would answer or not. I should think that no less a number than three small vessels, of one hundred, or one hundred and Twenty Tons burthen ought to be employed; two of which would be going backwards and forwards between

China and America and the other sent during the Summer months as far north as Cook's River, to glean the Coast of whatever Skins were to be had.

In the event of my having had any Concern in a Second Voyage to America, I should doubtless in that case, from the failure of my Sales in China, have so allotted my time as to have made it safe for me to explore the Coast of Japan, where there is no doubt, but that a Sale for the Furrs would be had, and that at a prodigious Encrease of Profit beyond what the Chinese give. If from Experience it should be found that the Japanese, are from Fear or Jealousy, averse to admitting us into their Ports, the Market of Europe is still open, and I have no doubt but that a ready and advantageous sale would there be certain.

When I was on the coast of America it occurred to me to weigh in my mind, every Circumstance referring to the Subject now under discussion. In the choice of a Place for forming an Establishment, I did not fail to advert to the Essential requisites of a Centrical Situation, a Healthy Climate, and Convenient harbours. I found all these comprised in that Sound discovered by Captain Cook, named Nootka or King George's Sound.

In that part of the Sound where I fixed my Residence and which by Captain Cook's description of it, is noticed by the name of Friendly Harbour, a port might be established, so as with very little trouble, effectually to secure a safe retreat from any Sudden attack of the Inhabitants, should they ever incline to commit Hostilities. With respect to the Force necessary to form an Establishment, I have no doubt, but that a Body of One hundred Europeans (and fewer should not attempt to settle) would be able to repel the United Powers of the Sound and the neighbourhood of the coast, that could be brought to act against them. Such is the Sheltered Situation of the Harbour, that vessels might be so secured in it, as to defy the Effects of the hardest Gale of Wind that could assail them. A very few Weeks would suffice to enable the settlers to build such convenient store, and Dwelling Houses as would make them comfortable in the coldest Weather, and screen them from the Effects of it.

In regard to climate, such is the Lattitude of Nootka Sound, as to admit of the growth of every thing of the Vegitable kind requisite for the comfort of Life; and indeed I found in their natural State, wild Fruits and Greens, which required only care to be excellent of their kind; and I make no question but that most of the European Fruits and Vegetables might be reared there. It would doubtless require some time to clear away the wood bordering on the Settlement, so that in the interim, the Colony would have to depend on China for their subsistence in the Article of Grain; as also in regard to the different animals which form our Food. The Breed from these, together with the Fish of the Sound, would very shortly put the Settlers beyond any fears of want.

Captain Cook informs us that so early as the month of April, the Thermometer frequently rose during his short stay there, so high as Sixty degrees. Whilst I was there, which I was during all the Month of July, I found the

Thermometer to rise sometimes so high as Seventy, and never to fall below Sixty Degrees.

From my Observations as to the apparent health and good looks of the natives of the Sound, I should infer that the climate of Nootka is particularly wholesome for except in the Instance of a few scabby children, I scarcely ever saw an Invalid during my stay there. This disease, so common amongst the children, is, I conceive, solely to be ascribed to the Filth and Dirt in which they are brought up.

It would be an insuperable Objection to any other more Northerly part of the coast, to be obliged to depend on China for supplies of Provisions of any sort; with respect to Prince William's Sound, or Cook's river, it is only necessary to read Captain Cook's narrative, to be decidedly in favour of choosing Nootka Sound, in preference to either, as he therein tells us that so late as the beginning of June the ground was covered with snow, from the Tops of the Hills, down to the Water's Edge, it therefore is very improbable to expect, a fit degree of maturity either to Grain, Fruit, or Vegetables. In every point of view, I then consider Nootka Sound, as the fittest place hitherto discovered on the North-West Coast of America, for the purpose of establishing a Settlement, not only from it's situation in respect to climate, and consequently Productions, but also, from the belief I am in of it's being better peopled, than any other part of the Coast, in a proportion of at least three to one.

In regard to the Inclinations of the natives of King George's Sound, as to our making a Settlement amongst them, I have not a Doubt, but, that so far from opposing it, they would, on the contrary, afford us such material assistance, as would considerably tend to hasten the construction of such Buildings and other Works, as might be deemed necessary to the defence of the new Settlers. In evidence of the gentleness of their manners, and their strict adherence to their Word, I have only to mention, that since I had the honour to address you last in Council, I have received Letters from Canton, informing me of the safe arrival there, of the Young man (Mr. Mackay) whom I have mentioned in my Journal, as having left behind me at Nootka, with a view to the acquisition of a knowledge of the Language, and manners of the People. It seems he was forceably taken away from Nootka by one of those vessels fitted out from England, called the King George; the captain giving as his only reason for so doing, that he had no right to stay there to monopolize the Trade. Mr. Mackay opposed in vain this violence; and has declared that such was the mildness and care, with which he was treated during a stay of many months, that, had he been left to free choice he would not have quitted his station there, until by writing or otherwise, I had given him permission so to do. Immediately on his arrival at Canton, an opportunity offering of his going to Bombay, he accordingly availed himself of it, so that I am now in daily Expectation of hearing from him. Should his Communications be worthy of notice, I shall not fail to transmit them to you.

Notwithstanding my favourable opinion of the Pacifick dispositions of the natives of King George's Sound, yet the security and quiet of the Colony would depend much, on the Prudence and moderation of those composing it; and if a due regard to Decency, on the part of Our own People is strictly observed in respect to their Women, I see no cause from which to apprehend any Acts of hostility from them. I am rather inclined to think that so far from opposing our settling amongst them, that they would assist by their Labours to our speedy and secure Establishment; and that the comforts and Luxuries of which our Residence amongst them would naturally be productive, could not fail of linking them to us, in Friendship and alliance by that strongest of all Ties namely Interest.

It is a matter of much astonishment to me, that a settlement has not already been attempted to be formed by the Russians on the North-West Coast of America, since the discoveries made there, by our celebrated navigator Captain Cook. From the Liberality of our Court, all Europe are at this time in Possession of the Facts and Informations of which Captain Cook's last voyage has been productive. With such respectable Evidence before them, may we not expect, from the known Enterprize and Public Spirit of the present great Empress, that she will avail herself of his discoveries, by making a settlement from Kamtschatka, in the most convenient and central spot on the coast, with a view to encrease, the already considerable revenue she draws, from the farming the Furr Trade, which, for half a century past, has been carried on by the Russians to the neighbouring Island, of the North-West Coast of America. I am the more inclined to the belief, that they will at length be driven to this necessity from the perusal of a work lately published (entitled "Coxes Russian Discoveries") wherein the author observes that, the Race of Sea Otters are now almost totally extinct in those Islands, frequented by the Russians, where heretofore their Wants have been supplied. Should they not however exclude us by preoccupancy, is it not a Commerce which will particularly suit the Dutch, connected as they are with Japan and China? If these Ideas are admitted, and that We do not take some immediate steps to the Exclusion of other nations, the consequence will be, that, instead of deriving solid Advantages from our Exertions, all that will remain to us, will be, the empty honors of Discovery; whilst our Enemies and Rivals will reap those Benefits which I think in process of time may be reasonably expected from an Establishment such as I have above proposed.

Other objects of Commerce might at the same time be pursued, from which there is no doubt but that considerable advantages would arise. In my Journal, I have taken notice of the great number of whales, mostly of the Spermaceti kind (which I saw during my Progress along the Coast of America), I should therefore conceive that, a Fishery might easily be established, on so extensive a scale, and with such a certainty of success, as to the quantity that might be taken, that a supply, equal to the consumption of all China, might be always depended on. Besides this Branch of Commerce, there is no doubt, but, that the Timber, with which that Coast is covered (and which in its size and fine grain is no where to be excelled) would compose a valuable

addition to the Trade; as that Article bears a very advanced price in China, and is always in demand, such especially as is fit for masts.

I am at this time the more inclined to view the subject of this letter in a favourable manner, and to press it on the notice of my Hon'ble Employers, from the consideration of an Event, which has lately taken place in respect to the present destination of such of our Fellow citizens, as have by their crimes incurred the Penalty of the Law, and in consequence been doomed to a Banishment where they are now perhaps, for ever lost to the Benefits of Society.

In as far as the nature of the subject would admit of it, there is no doubt, but that our present Wise and Enlightened Administration, have, in the selection already made, of that part of new Holland, called Botany Bay, as well from motives of Policy, as of Humanity adverted to the General convenience and happiness of those unfortunate Criminals who are now Exiled there. As it does not come within my knowledge, to be informed on what grounds of Preference, Government have chosen this spot for the above mentioned purpose, so therefore, I am unable to contrast the advantages which may be expected from the Experiment, in opposition to those which, I am confident, would result to the nation, if an Establishment of them was formed at King George's Sound. I think it my duty however to have said this much on the subject, and shall leave the discussion of it to the riper wisdom and Experience before whom the consideration of it may come.

Since I had last the honour to address you in Council, I am informed by Letters from China, that two of the vessels from England, employed on the North-West Coast of America, entered the Sound which I discovered, and named Queen Charlotte's Sound, and that having sailed for a very considerable way up the Gut, it at length opened into a very Extensive sea, to which they found no limits, from the lateness of the season of the year, one of the vessels only proceeded on the discovery, the Event of which, when known, I shall not fail to communicate to you.

I have the honour to transmit herewith, copy of an additional number of Words of the Nootka Sound Language, to those already made public, in Captain Cook's voyage, together with such Words of the Prince William's Sound Language as were acquired during my short stay there, and which I request may accompany my Journal.

I remain with much interest,
Hon'ble Sir, Your, etc.,
JAMES STRANGE.

The Treaty of Kanakapur between Peshwa Madhavrao I and Janoji Bhosle.

(By G. S. Sardesai, B.A.)

The session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Nagpur naturally suggests an enquiry into the sources of the history of the Bhosle

Rajas, who for over a hundred years before the advent of the British régime, wielded the fortunes of this important part of India. Rich in natural resources this province from its very position as the heart of the country has, always played a leading part as much in ancient as in modern days, as regards the various movements of politics, trade and society. Unfortunately, however, owing to reasons which I need not touch on this occasion, its great historical part has not been investigated by scholars and workers to the extent that it deserves. Its recent formation into a separate government and the inception of an independent University, are expected to lead to some very useful results, which this session of the commission can materially help on. A few suggestions in this respect will, I hope, be welcome to future students. I shall confine myself to the record of the Bhosles only, although archæological and other fields in this province are by no means negligible.

So far as I have been acquainted with the sources of the history of the Bhosles, I notice that while much has been written and published about their declining days, more particularly about their relations with the British Government, little has yet been authentically recorded about their previous achievements. The excellent volumes of the Persian Calendars and those of Forrest's Selections from government records, as also the various reports and accounts of missions and travellers, deal only with that phase of the Bhosles' activities which had reference to their relations with the rising British power. Burton and Wills did what they could when they were deputed for a time to arrange and select the official records at Nagpur. The published reports of Jenkins and others help the student only in so far as the British régime is concerned. Mr. Wills' little volume on 'the British relations with the Nagpur state' and on 'The history of the Rajgond Maharajas', useful and suggestive as they are in some measure, are from their very nature, necessarily perfunctory and will certainly bear an amount of improvement on further investigation. These and the previous writers of the early British period do not do justice to the claims and merits of the Maratha administration in general or the régime of the Bhosles in particular. It is indeed no small achievement for any military conquerors to plant their influence in less than a generation from the Godavary in the West to beyond the Mahanadi and the Ganges in the East and the North, to create order out of chaos, to reclaim the various backward tribes and to offer them the advantages of peace and civilisation, that is, in short, to establish what one may call a huge Maharashtriyen Colony throughout this vast region. Various individuals and families constantly laboured in this enormous task for generations together, but are now hardly noticed in history. It behoves us to look for their scattered records and build from them an authentic story.

To quote only one instance of historical imperfection, the British writers from Warren Hastings downwards often seem perplexed with the repeated demand for arrears of 'chouth' made by the Bhosles against the British agents and even renewed later by Mahadji Sindhia on behalf of the Emperor of Delhi. Warren Hastings all but succeeded in detaching Mudhoji Bhosle from the Maratha Confederacy and thereby saved the critical position into

which the wanton aggression of Hornby had launched the affairs of the East India Company during the late seventies of the 18th century. These writers do not seem acquainted with the actual conditions concerning the rise of the Bhosles and their rapid conquest. A few useful papers have long since been published in Marathi and more will certainly be forthcoming if a persistent effort were made to find them. Upon these alone we must base our knowledge of the early activities of this important extension of the Maratha Empire.

The Bhosles of Nagpur are known to have sprung from the same Kshatriya family from whom the great Shivaji took his rise, and first came to prominence by upholding the cause of Shahu when he came to claim his ancestral kingdom from his aunt Tarabai after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. Had it not been for the powerful support of Parsoji, the founder of the Nagpur Raj, Shahu would not have so easily got possession of the throne of Satara. Shahu ever afterwards showed his gratefulness to Parsoji and his successors and allotted to them an independent field for action by commanding them to levy the 'chouth' in Berar and the eastern provinces. The main portion of the work was carried out by the first Raghuji who like some other members of the newly born Maratha Confederacy highly resented any control from the Peshwas who managed the central government for Shahu. Raghuji died in 1755, leaving a disputed succession to his four sons, of whose dissensions the shrewd Peshwa Balaji Rao was not slow to take advantage. While this Peshwa tried to exact allegiance to his authority from the sons of Raghuji, he committed the great blunder of withholding his support from them in an attempt to enforce their claims in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, originally granted to Raghuji by Nawab Aliwardi Khan.

It will be recalled that the death of Raghuji was almost synchronous with the well-known activities of Siraj-ud-dowla against Fort William and the British traders of Bengal, leading to the tragedy of what is known as the "Black Hole" and the subsequent battle of Plassey which practically put an end to the Nawab's rule. At this important crisis in the history of India, it was the duty of the Peshwa, as the sovereign agent of the Maratha Empire and under the terms of the accepted policy of the 'chouth', to send immediate help to Siraj-ud-dowla, and to enable him to maintain his position against British interference in the internal affairs of the Subah of Bengal. The Peshwa could have profitably utilised this opportunity for keeping away the foreign aggression. But he failed in his duty at a vital moment. Nor can it be said that he lacked the necessary means for such a move. If he had but an All-India outlook and a far-sighted vision, the Peshwa Balaji Rao could have effectively interfered in the protection of Bengal. He was in 1757 at the height of his power and resources; his word was respected from the Indus to the Gavery as never before. To be looking on unconcernedly at the extension of the British influence in Bengal was a blunder quite on a par with that which he committed in crushing his own Maratha navy commanded by the Angria, with the help of the British power. This neglect of their interest by the Peshwa ever after rankled in the minds of the Bhosles of Nagpur and inwardly inclined them to be always neglectful of the common good of the

Maratha Government. Peshwa Madhav Rao tried later on to repair the lost position first by leading a vigorous expedition into the territories of Nagpur and after having sufficiently humbled Janoji, by completely befriending and winning him back for the Maratha Confederacy, as is amply proved by the generous treaty of Kanakapur on the banks of Godavary enacted on 23rd March 1769, a document, which deserves to rank as a master-stroke of that great Peshwa's internal policy, which he would surely have perfected, had his life not been cut short by a premature death soon after this important treaty was effected. I quote below a few relevant portions from this treaty omitting the technical ones out of documents which are worth the study of inquiring students, as they not only reveal the exact nature of Maratha negotiations of those days, but clearly explain the relations subsisting between the Peshwa and the Bhosle of Nagpur. The contracting parties put forth their demands in writing, and recorded their replies, point by point: Nos. 19, 28, and 37 of the Nagpur documents printed in the now defunct Kevyetihās Sungrahā, all refer to this same treaty of Kanakapur, between Janoji Bhosle and Madhav Rao Peshwa. The first (No. 19) puts forth Janoji's demands, with the Peshwa's replies, the second (No. 28) puts forth the Peshwa's demands with Janoji's replies through his minister Diwakar Purushottam; while the last (No. 37) appears to be a mere duplicate of No. 28. Here are some of the articles of that treaty in which the points are raised by Janoji and answered by the Peshwa.

(2) The Maratha forces going to the north harass our districts on their march: they should march by their old frequented route and not through our territory. The Peshwa's reply: Our forces shall hereafter march by the old route. This is agreed to.

(3) If any of our relations carry complaints or grievances to the Peshwa's Court against us, they should be turned back to us and not countenanced.

Reply: When you take a proper care of your relations, we shall have no need to shelter them. This is agreed to.

(4) The British have claimed the province of Cuttack and we have not been able to enforce our possession, without sufficient help. The Peshwa should therefore send his forces or bring them personally for an expedition against the British.

Reply: If we have no other expedition on hand and if we feel ourselves sufficiently strong for the undertaking, we shall be glad to send our troops against the British. This is agreed to.

(5) We are involved in huge debts and our treasury is empty. Hence our creditors appeal to the Peshwa for enforcing their demand and embarrass our position; they should not be countenanced to our detriment; we shall ourselves pacify our creditors gradually, as our position improves.

Reply: We shall not interfere with your creditors for a time, provided you defray the debts gradually. This is agreed to.

(6) We are at this moment very badly off, and our enemies are likely to take advantage of our difficulties. You must therefore render us every help in our depressing situation, as you would to a member of your own family.

Reply: Certainly, we shall most gladly render you all help. This is agreed to.

(8) Many of our dependents and employees carry to you all sorts of tales interrupting our cordial relations. You must not pay heed to such complaints without making a full and proper enquiry.

Reply: We shall not decide such complaints without a full enquiry. But you also on your part should be straight and open with your dependants and resort to no subterfuges with them. This is agreed to.

(9) The Nizam is often disposed to take advantage of our difficulties, violate previous agreements and create trouble for us. The Peshwa should come to our succour with his force in such a case. Any breach of relations between us and the Nizam should be looked upon as a breach between the Nizam and the Peshwa himself.

Reply: This is agreed to.

(11) Very often false charges are brought against us by the Peshwa's government on trifling pretences. No final decision should be passed against us in such cases, unless clear documentary evidence is forthcoming.

Reply: You must not keep direct political relations with foreign and outside powers, nor betray in any way the cause of the Maratha Central Government. If you behave properly for common good, we shall feel the same honest and loving regard for you. This is agreed to.

(12) All our former territory as in the days of Maharaja Shahu should be assigned to us by a fresh grant. We are perfectly ready to obey the arrangements made by that Maharaja. The Peshwa's government should in no way interfere with our old rights.

Reply: A fresh grant will be issued in writing. This is agreed to.

(13) We should be allowed to keep direct relations with outside powers, in order to adjust current financial and revenue matters, without prejudice to the interests of the Central government of the Peshwas.

Reply: We allow you freedom to adjust your current revenue matters by direct correspondence; matters involving political and foreign relations should not be dealt with, without reference to our government. This is agreed to.

(14) The late Peshwa Balaji Rao Nana Saheb treated us like his own children. You too should look upon us in the same light and treat us with the same frank and loving regard.

Reply: You must be ever loyal to the Peshwa's government and should on no account do anything damaging the interests of that government. We shall then look upon you as members of the same family and treat you with unfeigned regard. This is our frank advice. This is agreed to.

(16) We have been keeping our own resident agents with the Nizam and the British, to represent our interests with those power. Our agents will work in unison with the Peshwa's agents. They will not handle any but the current financial matters.

Reply: This is agreed to.

This is only one of many useful old documents which deserve being made available to the students of history who do not know Marathi. While Warren Hastings' and other writings on the subject of the Bhosles are eloquent and plentiful, such Marathi papers alone will explain how the work of those Bhosles was most constructive for some 60 years and was not all plunder and wanton conquest as it has often been represented to be. May I take this opportunity to appeal to the University and the intelligent public of Nagpur to make a searching investigation for new materials existing with the many historic families inhabiting this land and therefrom try to construct an authentic history of the Bhosles, on the lines of similar efforts made in Maharashtra.

The Daniells in India.

(By Sir Evan Cotton, Kt., C.I.E., M.A.)

The recent purchase by the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan of twenty three hitherto unrecorded oil paintings of Indian scenery by Thomas Daniell, R.A., from the collection of the late Mr. Charles Hampden Turner and his presentation of two of the finest to the Victoria Memorial Hall should revive interest in the travels of this artist and his nephew William in India from 1785 to 1795. As the number of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXV, Part I, Jan.-Mar. 1923) in which I recorded such information as I then possessed, is out of print and difficult to procure, I propose (in anticipation of a book which I am preparing in conjunction with Major Thomas Sutton) briefly to summarize its contents and to add such details as have come subsequently to my knowledge from official records and other sources.

Sir William Foster has ascertained¹ from the Court Minutes of the East India Company that on December 1, 1784, permission was given to Thomas Daniell "to proceed to Bengal to follow his profession of an engraver": that on the 10th of the same month his request to be allowed to take his nephew with him "as his assistant" was granted: and finally that on February 23, 1785, Robert Smirke of Upper Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place, and Edmund Hague of Queen Anne Street East were approved as his securities. In what ship did they sail? According to the letter press in the *Oriental Annual* of 1834 which is obviously based upon notes supplied by William Daniell the passage was made to Madras in the *Atlas* Indiaman. This is corroborated by an entry in the list of residents in Bengal which is given in the *East India Kalendar* for 1791. Both Thomas and William Daniell are described therein

¹ *Bengal: Past and Present*: Vol. XXIX, p. 5.

as engravers and are stated to have come out in the *Atlas* in 1786. Now the *Atlas* Indiaman (763 tons) sailed from the Downs on April 7, 1785, under the command of Captain Allen Cooper, but she was bound, not for Madras or Bengal, but for China. Her log for that voyage contains no list of passengers, and it cannot be said definitely that the Daniells were on board. But no other voyage of the *Atlas* will fit in with the dates which are fixed by the Court Minutes. The previous voyage was made, it is true, to the "Coast and Bay", but it was begun from Portsmouth on March 11, 1783; and a subsequent voyage to Bengal and back took place in 1787-1788, when we know that Thomas Daniell was in Calcutta and engaged in the publication of his twelve views. There seems little doubt that Daniell and his nephew went out to Canton in the first instance and that the sketches which they then made were afterwards utilized for *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way of China* (1810)—a title which tells its own tale. The *Atlas* arrived at Whampoa on August 23, 1785, and sailed for England direct in January 1786. The Daniells must therefore have come from Canton to Bengal in a country ship: and we may assume that they reached Calcutta in the autumn of 1785 or the spring of 1786.

The Twelve Views of Calcutta, which were published in aquatint between the years 1786 and 1788 are the earliest works of Thomas Daniell in India. Three of these are dated 1786, four are of 1787 and the remaining five of 1788. In a letter written to Ozias Humphry on November 7, 1788, and preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy, he writes²:—

The Lord be praised. At length I have completed my 12 views of Calcutta. The fatigue I have experienced in this undertaking has almost worn me out. [I] am advised to make a trip up the country with flattering assurances that my health would be improved by it. I am now very near Patna in a good strong roomy Pinnace where I can paint or draw quite comfortably . . . By Mr. Begby of the William Pitt Indiaman I send you the Calcutta views which you promised to do me the honour of accepting. It will appear a very poor performance in your land, I fear. You must look upon it as a *Bengalee* work. You know I was obliged to stand Painter, Engraver, Copper Smith, Printer and printers Devil myself. [It] was a devilish undertaking, but I was determined to get through it at all events.

Particulars of this "trip up the country" are to be found in a letter written by William Daniell to his mother from "Baghullpoor" on June 30, 1790, and in another letter in the Humphry Correspondence which has only very lately come to my notice. The former letter was copied in pencil into a note book by Joseph Farington, R.A., the diarist, and a transcription which I was permitted to make by the courtesy of the Editor of the *Morning Post*, was published in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1923 (Vol. XXV, pp. 13-

² The whole of this letter together with other "Letters from Bengal" to Humphry, will be found in Vol. XXXV, Part II, of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Apr.-Jun. 1928). Ozias Humphry arrived at Calcutta in the *Francis* Indiaman in Aug. 1785 and sailed from Kedgerie for Europe in the *Earl of Oxford* on March 14, 1787.

17). The second letter was written to Humphry from "Futty Ghur" on August 1, 1789, by Captain Jonathan Wood: and from it we obtain the names of those in whose company the Daniells visited Agra, Delhi and Muttra. The party which included the veteran General John Carnac and Colonel Horton Brisco was escorted by two companies of Sepoys and a small body of horse: William Daniell tells his mother that it was composed of 15 Europeans "whose attendants and camp followers amounted to near 3,000". At Agra they met with Major William Palmer, who was then Resident with Madhoji Rao Scindia, and who accompanied them to Muttra, where Scindia was in camp. "Mr. Daniell from recollection only made a portrait of him which was thought like": this picture has not been traced except in the form of an engraving by William Daniell which is reproduced in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834³. The story there related is as follows: "Mr. Daniell shortly after his arrival in India, and not long before the death of the old warrior, had the honour of an interview during which he was also honoured with an oriental embrace; availing himself of the opportunity he made an admirable likeness of this remarkable man". From Muttra the party proceeded to Delhi, "when Palmer and Brisco paid their obeisance to Shaw Alum attended with the customary presents on these occasions; this amounted to some 30,000 rupees". The sketches made at Agra, Sikandra, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi, were all incorporated later on in *Oriental Scenery*. The next halting place after Delhi was Anupshahr: and from here Thomas Daniell and his nephew set off with another party "consisting of 5 or 6 gentlemen with a proper escort" and visited Hardwar. Here two only of Daniell's companions went with them into Garhwal: one of these we know from Vol. XI of *Asiatick Researches* (Hindoostanee Press, Calcutta, 1810: p. 435) to have been Captain John Guthrie who described himself in his will as "a Peer of the Mogul Empire" and who died at Fatehgarh in 1803 of wounds received in an unsuccessful attack on Thathia Fort. From Srinagar in Garhwal, the Daniells according to Captain Wood, visited "Rampour and Phillibeat and returned to Futty Ghur by way of Bareilly". Their arrival at Fatehgarh is announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 9, 1789, which publishes an "extract from a letter from Futty Ghur, June 8"; and from an album of sketches which is preserved at the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, we are able to obtain ample evidence of the leisurely manner in which they travelled from place to place in Rohilkhand. From Fatehgarh Captain Wood tells us that they set out for Lucknow: and were proposing to return to the Presidency by way of Fyzabad, Benares, Chunar, Bidzyghur (Bijaigarh) and Rhotasgarh. To these places, which all find a niche in *Oriental Scenery*, must be added Jaunpur; unlike the modern traveller, the Daniells were greatly attracted by the magnificent Shargi mosques: and also Gaya and Sasaram. The return to the Presidency was not, however, made all at once. William Daniell's

³ The portrait of Madhoji Rao Scindia, which is in the Town Hall at Bombay, is by James Wales, who died at Thana in 1795. The picture which Sir James Mackintosh saw at Poona in 1805 and which he attributed to Zoffany, is believed to be the one now at Gwalior which is evidently an adaptation by an Indian artist of the painting by Wales. Madhoji died suddenly in 1794 at Wanouri near Poona.

letter to his mother, while giving no hint of future movements leaves him and his uncle at Bhagalpur on June 30, 1790. Here they "resided twelve months in the same House with" Samuel Davis, as related in the Farington Diary (entry of February 12, 1806). Davis, who was himself an accomplished artist, had been appointed by Hastings to a writership in 1783, on his return from Turner's mission to Bhutan⁴ and was "Assistant to the Collector and Register to the Court of Adawlut, Boglepore" from 1785 to 1792. In May 1793, he was at Burdwan as Collector; and there married Henrietta Boileau. Two years later, in July 1795, he was appointed Judge and Magistrate of Benares, and gallantly defended the narrow stairways of his residence, Nandeswar House, with a running footman's pike, when it was attacked after the murder of George Frederick Cherry, the Resident⁵ on January 4, 1799, by the followers of Wazir Ali. Thereafter he was transferred to Calcutta where he became Accountant General, and after his retirement from India in 1806, was a Director of the Company from 1810 until his death in 1819⁶.

When the Daniells eventually returned to Calcutta they did remain very long. The six aquatints of Calcutta in the second series of *Oriental Scenery* are dated 1792: but they must be referred to the early part of that year for it is stated distinctly in the letter press that the views of Trichinopoly, Madura and Tanjore, which are in the same series were "taken" in June, July and September 1792, and that the six Madras views were made in 1793. In the fourth series we have a further seven views of scenes in the Madras Presidency which were taken in July and August 1792. From a letter in the Humphry Correspondence, which was written to Ozias Humphry from Calcutta on November 23, 1793, by William Baillie (himself the author of twelve views of Calcutta, a plan of the city and views of Gaur) we learn that:—

Mr. Thomas Daniell after a three years excursion in which he went up to Sirinagar in the Bootan (sic) hills and visited Delhi, Agra, etc., returned to Calcutta 20 months ago [*i.e.*, in the spring of 1792] with a collection of about 150 pictures which he set on foot a Lottery for. It was not quite filled, however; those that fell to himself as prizes he carried to Madras where he disposed of them and some others. He made an excursion thro' the Mysore country, etc., and came back, no doubt with a vast collection. I need not say how correct and elegant. From Madras I

⁴ The Bhutan illustrations in Turner's "Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet" (published in 1800) are by Davis. The original drawings, nineteen in number, are now at the Victoria Memorial Hall, together with many of his water colour sketches of other places.

⁵ Another artist civilian. He was Lord Cornwallis' Persian Secretary at one time and when on a mission to Seringapatam in 1792, painted portraits of Tipu Sultan of which one is at the India Office and another in the Duke of Wellington's collection at Apsley House.

⁶ The famous pike was kept in a corner of the drawing room of the house in Portland Place where his widow resided after his death. Mont Stuart Elphinstone who was a young assistant at Benares in 1799, used to come at least once a year to "do poojah" to it; and my uncle the late Mr. J. S. Cotton (born 1848) used to relate that he was taken as a child on the same pilgrimage.

understand he was to cross over to the Malabar Coast on to Bombay and from that home by way of Egypt or Bussara.

These intentions were only partially carried out. The sketches of Muscat which are published in the *Oriental Annual* for 1836 and which from the subject of several pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy by both the uncle and the nephew, show clearly enough that they reached that place. But in the summer of 1793 they hurried back to Bombay with the first official news of the outbreak of war with France. The date is fixed by the following entry in the Bombay Proceedings of January 13, 1794 (I. O. 218-223: Coll. No. 12):—

On 7 July last received packets from Resident and Factors at Bussorah by Major Macdonald in *Cornwall Ketch* from Muscat containing duplicate of Court's command dated February 7 and 9, which gave us the first official accounts of the war with France. Resident and Factors sent the packet to the broker at Muscat with orders to offer Rs. 10,000 to any one who would carry it to Bombay. The original letter they sent by *Laurel* to Bombay where it arrived July 23.

The Bombay Council paid the ten thousand rupees to Major Macdonald and Rs. 25,000 to the owners of the *Laurel*: and these allowances were approved in a despatch of April 28, 1795, from the Court. The connecting link with the Daniells is supplied by a passage in the Court Minutes of March 6, 1799:—

The request of Mr. Thos. Daniell for a copy of the resolution of the Bombay Government authorizing the payment of 10,000 rupees for a service performed by him jointly with Major Forbes Ross Macdonald in carrying from Muskat to Bombay in June 1793 a packet which proved to contain advice of the war with France, and which sum was received by Major Macdonald who has never paid Mr. Daniell any part thereof: Being read; Referred to the Committee of Correspondence.

There is no report from the Committee on the Minutes, but on March 13, 1799, the desired extract from the Bombay Proceedings is sent to Daniell with a formal note in the third person.⁷ As no further entry can be traced in the Court Minutes up to April 1801, it is to be presumed that the Directors heard nothing more of the matter.

While at Bombay the Daniells collaborated with James Wales in making the sketches of "Hindoo Excavations in the Mountains of Ellora near Aurangabad in the Deccan" which were subsequently published in 1804 as the fifth series of *Oriental Scenery*. In the sixth series which was published in 1799 there are six sketches of "excavations on the island of Salsette and Elephanta"; and in the letter press to No. 7 which represents "The entrance to the Elephanta cave", the following definite statement is made: "According to the measurement of Mr. William Daniell, the author's nephew,

⁷ I am indebted to Sir William Foster for calling my attention to these papers. Daniell's letter which is dated January 22, 1799, is among the records at the India Office (Mis. Lets. Recd. Vol. 100).

who accompanied him on all his excursions in India, its dimensions are 130 feet in length, 110 in breadth and 16 in height ”.

The Daniells would appear to have sailed from Bombay some time in the year 1794. Their names cannot be traced in any of the logs of the homeward bound Indiamen of that season: but some light is thrown upon the circumstances of their voyage by a little quarto book in a yellow wrapper, which has been discovered in the Brighton Public Library. It is entitled “ Sketches of a Voyager by W. Daniell, R.A.” and the first sketch which is of “ A Sixty Four ” is signed “ W. D. Lion Hill, 3 July, 1794 ”. Lion Hill is the well known mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, and there can be little doubt that this sketch and the next one, “ Spanish East Indiamen (Spaniard Lat. 18.18, long. 32.12. W.) ” were drawn on the voyage to Europe. It can be ascertained from Aeneas Anderson’s Narrative of the British Embassy to China (1795) that Lord Macartney, who sailed in H. M. S. *Lion*, was accompanied on his way home from Macao by thirteen East Indiamen and three foreign vessels. The *King Charles*, a Spaniard, the *Bom Jesus*, Portugese and the *General Washington*, American. The fleet anchored at St. Helena on June 19, 1794, and sailed on July 1.

In any case, the Daniells had certainly returned to London by the autumn of 1794. Ozias Humphry, in a letter written to Baillie in Calcutta in October 1794 reports their arrival and the first series of their monumental work—the beautiful aquatints of *Oriental Scenery*—was published in London on March 1, 1795.

Five other series followed, each containing twenty four views: and nothing can better illustrate the wide range of their travels in India than a recapitulation of the contents.

Although the first series was published in March, it was not until October 22, 1795, that the *Calcutta Gazette* printed “ Proposals for publishing the following twenty four views in Hindoostan from the drawings of Thomas Daniell and engraved by himself ”. The places depicted are Delhi, Bindraban (Muttra), Agra, Patna, Benares, Chunar, Gaur, Rhotasgarh, Moneah (Maner) on the river Son near Patna, Gaya, Agouree (Agori Khas), which lies about fifteen miles to the westward of the fortress of Bijaigarh, and Currah (Kara) near Allahabad which was once of sufficient importance to give its name, with another forgotten town, Corah (Kora) in the Fatehpur district, to the provinces of “ Corah and Currah ”. The views are said to have been taken in the years 1789 and 1790. The advertisement proceeds: “ If subscribed for and delivered in India, the price for the 24 views will be 200 sicca rupees. Half the subscription is to be paid upon the delivery of the first twelve views which will certainly be sent out to India by the earliest ships of the season 1796 ”. The second series “ drawn by Thomas Daniell and engraved by him and William Daniell ” was published in London in August, 1797. There are six views of Calcutta (1792), four of Trichinopoly (June 1792), six of Madura (July 1792), two of Tanjore (September 1792) and six of Madras (1793).



THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHER SHAH AT SASARAM.

Painted by Thomas Daniell in 1810 and Exhibited at the Royal Academy in that year. Photographed by Major T. Sutton from the Picture in the Hampden Turner Collection, now in the possession of the Maharajadhiraj B.hadur of Burdwan.

The next series in chronological order of publication, is the sixth which bears the imprint "London, October 15, 1799", and is styled "Antiquities of India. Twelve (sic) views from the drawings of Thomas Daniell, R.A. and F.S.A., engraved by himself and William Daniell. Taken in the year 1790 and 1793." The sketches are, in fact, twenty four in number and are of a miscellaneous character, beginning with the seven Pagodas at Mauvelepore (Mamallapuram or Mahabalipuram) and the temples on the island of Salsette. Other sketches represent a temple at Deo in Bihar, the Elephanta cave, the Fakir's Rock in the Ganges near Sultanganj, Chainpur in Bihar, an antique reservoir near Colar (Kolar) in Mysore, a temple near Madanpur (80 miles S. W. from Patna), a temple near Bangalore, Raja Jai Singh's observatory at Delhi, the ruins of Gaur, and the Kutab Minar at Delhi.

The third series "drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell" was published in London in June 1801. It contains sketches taken at Currah (Kara), Rhotasgarh, Fyzabad, Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi, Kanaui, Jaunpur, Pilibhit, Gaya, Ramnagar (opposite Benares), Muttra, Chunar, and Rajmahal. Some of them are specifically stated to have been drawn in 1790. Sandwiched in between them are views of Tipu's "hill forts in the Baramahal" in the Mysore country.

The fifth series was published in London on June 1, 1804, and is inscribed: "Hindoo Excavations in the Mountains of Ellora near Aurangabad in the Deccan. Engraved from the drawings of James Wales by and under the direction of Thomas Daniell". It is dedicated to Sir Charles Warre Malet Bart., late the British Resident at Poona, who married the daughter of Wales.

The fourth series, "Twenty Four Landscapes-Views in Hindoostan, drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell", was published in London in May 1807. It is in this volume that the twelve Garhwal sketches are to be found. There is a direct reference to them in the introduction but the concluding sentence is misleading: "the drawings", it is said, "from which these views are engraved were taken in the months of July and August 1792": but the Daniells were then in South India, and the year should be 1789. Seven of the other sketches relate to the Madras Presidency: of No. 6, a scene "near Attoor in the Dindigul district", we are assured that the place is inhabited by "a class of creatures whose shaggy forms and ferocious aspect appear sufficient to strike terror in the hearts even of lions and tigers". The other five sketches represent a view near Bandel, showing a *Sati* memorial: Sakrigali on the Ganges: Ramgur (or Rampur) in the district of Benares: Dhuh Koondee, a cataract in the neighbourhood of Sasaram: and Kanauij.

An even greater variety of subjects is exhibited in the engravings by William Daniell which are to be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838. These include Gingee, the Mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram, Calcutta from the Garden Reach, the Harbour of Muscat, the Forts of Jellali and Marani at Muscat, a view on the Baliapatam river

(Coorg), a scene near the coast of Malabar, Bombay, a Bore rushing up the Hugli, the setting in of the Monsoon at Madras, and a number of views of Bhutan. As to the last it is stated that the views are taken from sketches made by the late Mr. Samuel Davis "who visited Boutan in 1783". There are also portraits of Mahdaji Scindia, the Queen of Candy, the Emperors Akbar and Humayun, a Malabar Hindu, and "a Female Peasant of Ceylon".

Election as an Associate of the Royal Academy came to Thomas Daniell in 1796, and he was advanced to full Academical honours in 1799. His diploma picture represents "Hindu Temples at Bindrabund," and a reproduction of it in aquatint figures as sketch No. 2 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*. His output of Indian pictures was enormous: and his market never seemed to fail him; for he ceased to paint in 1828, and lived in retirement until his death in 1840 at the patriarchal age of ninety-one. William Daniell, who was elected a Royal Academician in 1823 and died in 1837, was equally prolific. The list of the Academy exhibits of uncle and nephew fills many pages in Algernon Grave's compilation: and yet the appearance of an oil painting by either of the Daniells in a London sale-room is the rarest possible occurrence. The largest collections are at the Victoria Memorial Hall and in the possession of the Maharaja of Burdwan.

The merits of *Oriental Scenery* are fully recognized to-day: and Farington shows by the following entry in his Diary that contemporary appreciation was not wanting: "April 19, 1804.—Smirke [R. A.] informed me that Daniell has had an order from abroad for 18 sets of his India Views, which would amount to above £2,000." The copy in the Royal Academy Library was purchased on August 1, 1805 by unanimous vote, on the proposition of Farington himself. When Claude Martin's effects were advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* during 1801, they were stated to include "a complete set of Daniell's views in India." Robert Pott, the "Bob Pott" of Hickey's Memoirs, and Peter Speke, who was a member of the Bengal Council from 1787 to 1801 and "spent forty years at the Presidency" were among his many Anglo-Indian patrons.

As aquatints, the views in *Oriental Scenery* cannot be surpassed: and as an instance of Daniell's accuracy in delineation, it may be mentioned that when the Temple in the Fort of Rhotas was restored under the orders of the Government of Bengal, Daniell's view of it was used as a model. So true is it that history is as much made up of pictures and engravings as it is of documents.

A glowing tribute to the work of Daniell was paid in an extract from the *Calcutta Monthly Magazine* which was quoted in W. Thacker and Co.'s Monthly Overland Circular for August 20, 1846³, when offering a "superb copy" of *Oriental Scenery* for sale at Rs. 1,000:—

The execution of these drawings is indeed masterly; there is every reason to confide in the fidelity of the representations; and the effect pro-

³ I am indebted to Mr. C. A. Hooper of Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., for a sight of this interesting volume.

duced by this rich and splendid display of oriental scenery is truly striking. In looking at it, one may almost feel the warmth of an Indian sky, the water seems to be in actual motion and the animals, trees and plants are studies for the naturalist.

The praise is not too high. The student of eighteenth-century India owes a great debt to Thomas and William Daniell.

The Gond Dynasty in Chanda.

(By Rt. Rev. Dr. A. Wood, M.A., Ph.D., D.D.)

I feel that I appear before this learned Society in a something of a false light. I am neither an archæologist nor a historian. Your over-persuasive local Secretary, Professor Raju, insisted that I should revive again the memories and studies of some fifteen years ago and read you a paper on the Gond Dynasty of Chanda.

From 1898 to 1915, when I was a Missionary in Chanda, I usually spent some three or four months camping in the Chanda jungles among the Gonds, and came to know the people and the Gond Zemindars intimately and I took a lively interest in them and their customs and history.

In those days there were two guides to the history and customs of the Gonds in Chanda; the Rev. Stephen Hislop of the United Free Church Mission, Nagpur, and Major Lucie Smith, sometime Deputy Commissioner of Chanda and Settlement Officer.

Mr. Hislop had written down in Gondi with an English translation the Legend of Lingo, a mythological poem giving the origin and history of the Gonds, and this proved a most useful aid to learning the language. Major Lucie Smith's Settlements Report was a mine of information which later students of Gond History have condemned as hopelessly untrustworthy and historically unreliable.

I did not know that then, and after having read what the critics have said about it, I am not sure that I know it now.

Then came the time of writing up the District Gazetteer and I was happy to be associated with Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, Mr. Begbie and the Hon'ble Mr. Nelson of the Indian Civil Service in the production of the Chanda Gazetteer. It was then that the curious problem of the Gond Kingdoms of the Central Provinces dawned upon me at any rate. My old friend Deo Shah Bapu, the representative of the ancient line of Gond Kings of Chanda, had supplied me with the list of Gond Kings from which Major Lucie Smith had compiled his interesting history. This line ran back to 870 A.D.

Then came Rai Bahadur Hira Lal armed with inscriptions and his wonderful knowledge of the archæology of the Central Provinces and torpedoed with

General Cunningham's Survey—Dr. Kielhorn's translations, Dr. Stevenson's notes and computations, all that fair vista of Gond Kings and Kingdoms by showing, beyond all cavil or contradiction, that Hindu Kings were ruling in Bhandak and Sirpur and Ratanpur in the South up to the 13th century and in Seoni, Mandla and Jabalpur up to the 14th and 15th centuries. There were records of their grants of lands and temples, their exploits and their charities, meagre indeed, but plainly offering a very different picture to that presented by the very vague and unhistorical Gond records of a King's name and a character sketch.

In the face of these inscriptions, a new picture of the History of the Central Provinces had to be formed in which it was difficult to find a place for the Gonds at all.

From about 250 B.C. to 650 A.D. the Mauryan kings, the Sunga and Andhra line, then the Imperial Guptas ruled. Samudragupta's expedition through Saugor, Jabalpur and Chhattisgarh and his gift to Eran in his old age is recorded in the Eran Stone. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal notes that he left the Buddhist kings of Bhandak undisturbed.

This period ends with the record of an eye-witness. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the Capital of Kosala 639 A.D., which the latest authorities identify with Bhandak in the Chanda District, a station on the G. I. P. Railway, some 16 miles north of Chanda, which has extensive ruins of temples and places for many miles round it. The pilgrim recorded in his travel diary:—

"The King is of the Kshattriya caste. He deeply reverences the law of Buddha and is well affected towards learning and the arts. There are one hundred Sangharams (Buddhist monasteries) here and 10,000 priests (monks). There are a great number of heretics who have intermixed with the population and also Deva temples."

An Inscription No. 11 in the Nagpur Museum seems to support the statement that a line of Buddhist Kings ruled in Bhandak up to the 7th or 8th century A.D.

During the period from 650 to 1250 no less than thirteen Hindu dynasties have left records of some kind showing that they were either overlords or feudatories—in this disturbed and distracted land. The Kalachuris of Tewar and Ratanpur claimed most of the Central Provinces southward to the Godaveri. The Rashnakutas of Malked ousted the Vakataka kings from Berar and appear to have ruled there with occasional incursions of Chalukyas from the west and Paramaras from Malwa (Nagpur Stone No. 1).

By the 11th century these warring dynasties have gone from Berar and the Yadavas of Deogiri (now Daultabad) were overlords of the district.

The Capital of Kosala had now moved from Bhandak to Sirpur and the Buddhist kings appear to have reverted to Hinduism and become worshippers of Shiva. There they remained till they were subdued by the Haihaya kings of Kosala.

About this period the picture of the country that seems to emerge is warring Rajput princes carving kingdoms for themselves out of decaying dynasties, feudatory princes becoming independent and predatory states exacting tribute from weaker neighbours. It is towards the end of this period that the great era of temple building in Chanda begins.

Temples of the Hemadhpanth style are found in 32 villages of the Chanda District, all over the country afterwards ruled by the Gond Kings. Archaeologists date them about the 10th and 11th centuries. The most beautiful of them is the Markanda group built on the banks of the Wainganga. They are attributed to Hemadhpanth of whom the story is told that when Vibhishana, the brother of Rawan, king of the Rakshasas, was sick, Hemadhpanth, who was skilled in medicine, cured him, and the grateful patient told him to ask a boon. Hemadhpanth asked that the aid of the Rakshasas might be given him to build temples wherever he might require them. This was given him, but on condition that they should work but the one night. Hemadhpanth built all the temples at Bhandak, Markanda, Neri, etc., in one night.

Hemadhpanth is identified with Hemadri the Shrikarnadhipa or Superintendent of the Records of Mahadeva and Ramchandra the Yadava Kings of Deogiri. Hemadri's date is 1260 to 1271 A.D., and the temples are dated by experts one to two centuries earlier, but it seems clear that there was a tremendous enthusiasm for temple building at this period all over the area soon to be occupied by the Gond Kings and, unless they be the Rakshasas referred to in the legend, whose help was enlisted in the building, there does not seem to be any mention of the Gonds nor any room for them.

Nevertheless they appear very soon. Ala-ud-din, Governor of Kara and afterwards the Turki Sultan of Delhi, makes his spectacular march from the banks of the Ganges to Deogiri in 1294, captures it and returns unmolested 700 miles to his camp with the loot.

And in that century the Gonds appear in Ballarpur moving up from the south according to the very unreliable records of the Chanda Kings. The first ten kings had their capital at Ballarpur, and the tenth Khandkia Ballal Shah is represented as the founder of Chanda in 1450. For three centuries after that the Gonds are the ruling race in Chanda. Babaji Ballal Shah, the 13th king of the line, is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as ruling in Chanda. So he at least is a historical person. The 18th king Ram Shah, the saint, appears to have successfully resisted the attacks of Khanoji and Raghuji Bhonsle's, but the conquest was accomplished the following reign. Nilkanth Shah, the last king to rule, was made a prisoner and confined in the old Fort of Ballarpur.

An excellent account of the three Gond dynasties of the Satpura Hills is given in Mr. C. U. Wills' book the *Raj Gond Maharajahs of the Satpura*. The Gond kingdoms in the north rise to power after the Hindu Rajas had been weakened by their contest with the Mahomedan invaders—Garha Mandla in the 15th century, Deogarh in the beginning of the 17th century.

He also proves that the Kerla kingdom was not a Gond but a Hindu kingdom. Mr. Wills obviously takes it for granted that the Gonds were the aboriginal inhabitants of the Satpura Hills and were ruled over by the Hindu Rajahs, Kherla being his outstanding example.

The Hindu dynasties of the region have their origin in some Rajput adventurer who comes into the Satpuras and carves out a kingdom for himself among the aborigines, most probably by marrying the daughter of a Chieftain. There are several legends that support such a picture of the time and doubtless it was true of some of the kingdoms but the question of the migration of the Gonds is one that needs elucidation.

The first theory of their origin may be called the Northern Theory. According to this explanation of their presence they, like other invaders, entered India by the north-western passes, long before the Aryans did. In support of this, three facts are advanced:—

(1) This theory of their origin is supported by the song of Lingo, which represents the Gonds as issuing from Kachikopa Lohargarh the "Iron Cave in the Red Hill" which is in Dhavalgiri in the Himalayas.

(2) They bury their dead with their feet to the north.

(3) The strange sept of the Brahuīs in Beluchistan who, though physically very different from the Gonds, being a tall fair skinned race, having occasional individuals with blue eyes, yet speak a Dravidian dialect not far removed from Gondi.

Mr. Hislop criticises the first fact by pointing out that the myth of Lingo shows marks of contact with Hindu mythology, that the position of Kachikopa Lohargarh is not always in the Himalayas but in one version is placed in Pachmarhi, in another Rhandara.

The theory that the Brahuīs and the rear guard of a Dravidian invasion left stranded in the passes of the Himalayas is a very large assumption to explain a fact that is susceptible of many explanations in other less imposing ways. In any case it is dangerous to accept language alone as a criterion of race. On that basis the Negroes of the United States of America would have to be classified as Anglo-Saxons as English is their mother tongue. There are several reasons, not amounting to proof, that the Gonds were not the original inhabitants of this area.

There are in the Choto-Nagpur area a race called, for what reason I do not know, the Kols or Kolarians with whom, when Bishop in Choto-Nagpur, for seven years I was in close contact, a very large number of them being now Christians. These people call themselves Mundas, Hos and Santhals and all speak dialects of a language which I knew first as Mundari, and had to learn sufficiently to take Church Services in it.

A long series of students from Colonel Dalton to Sir Edward Gait have devoted much time and research to this very interesting race. There is a strong consensus of opinion that the Mundari languages have originated

from the same source as those spoken by the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands, and the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula.

Sir H. Risley says, "the Mundas, the Mon-Khmer the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula and the Nicobarese all use forms of speech which can be traced back to a common source though they mutually differ widely from each other".

Wherever the Gonds come in contact with Mundas they employ these people as Bumaks and village servants as being the original inhabitants of the land, children of the soil, and acquainted with its gods to whom the Gond is a new comer and a stranger. The earlier inhabitants of the northern tracts would therefore appear to be not Gonds but Mundas.

On the other hand the Gondi language is clearly a branch of the Dravidian languages and would lie philologically midway between Tamil and Telegu. There is no evidence of any kind to show that the Dravidian speaking peoples came to India from anywhere, they may therefore be the original inhabitants of South India. The Rev. S. Hislop was of opinion that the Gonds and Konds were originally one Dravidian tribe in South India who migrated northwards. In the course of their migration the Gonds took the western route crossing the Godaveri and advancing up the river valleys of the Indrawati and the Wainganga to Bastar and the Satpura plateau, while the Konds took the eastern route up the sea coast to Kalahandi.

Their linguistic affinity is certainly with the South.

If they came, the question of when they came is the next important part of the theory of their southern origin.

Mr. H. A. Crump raised what appears to be a very pertinent question. He pointed out that the Baigas, a branch of the Munda tribes who have discarded the Munda language and speak only Hindi, now live in the midst of a Gond population of whom more than half still speak Gondi.

If both Gonds and Baigas had settled in Mandla and Balaghat for an indefinite period prior to the arrival of the Aryan invaders the Baigas would now be speaking Gondi not Hindi. He therefore was inclined to favour the opinion that the Gond migration took place from about the 10th century onwards to about the 13th.

Mr. Russell is inclined to this opinion also holding it more likely that the Hindu kingdoms of the Central Provinces weakened by their struggle with the Mahomedan invaders should have been subverted by an invasion from the southern peoples rather than by a revolution among their own subjects. Mr. Wills argues strongly against this theory in his book on the Northern Kingdoms, but I am inclined to think that the weight of evidence is against him, though it does not amount to disproof.

The argument over the old Gold coin of Sangram Shah found at Tharaka in the Damoh District is a good example of the effect of the partnership, which arises in such questions. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal who deciphered the inscriptions on the coin writes, "The legend on the putari in Telegu characters

tells its own tale. According to local tradition the Gond kings of Garha Mandla came from the banks of the Godavari and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that Sangram Shah did not forget the land of his nativity and got his name inscribed in the language of his original country in spite of the fact that the tract he ruled was wholly Hindustani."

Mr. Wills traverses this statement naturally and shows that no such inference can be rightly drawn from an inscription on a coin, but he himself goes on to infer that "a sufficient explanation of the use of Telegu on the coin can be found in the assumption that the craftsmen he employed were Telingas".

If one takes up a one anna of the present issue, one finds on one side the legend of the Emperor's name in English and on the other side the legend of the value in five languages: Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Telegu and English. Is one justified in drawing any inference about the quintuple nationality of the craftsman? Would it not be wiser to infer that the coin was to be used by the people to whom these different scripts are familiar?

It is just this lack of decisiveness which vitiates all the evidence in this inquiry.

The Ramnagar Inscription has been proved to be quite untrustworthy beyond the immediate ancestors of Sangram Shah.

I have received from Mr. Crofton a genealogical tree that shows Rajah Azam Shah of Nagpur to be descended from Krishna, the hero of the Mahabharata.

Deo Shah Bapu, the representative of the Gond Dynasty of Chanda in the early years of the century, had a genealogical tree that went back to the time when his forbears might have lived in it. These legends are imaginative, unhistorical and unreliable, but here and there they do contain elements of historical truth. Take, for an instance, the legend that Babaji Ballal Shah had some intercourse with the Emperor Akbar. In the genealogical tree he is dated as having lived and died about a century before Akbar's time, but in the Ain-i-Akbari he is recorded as a Chief ruling in Chanda. The time is wrong but the statement is right.

A similar divergence of opinion is held concerning the culture of the Gonds. Some writers representing them in glowing colours as beneficent rulers, who, when they fell before the Maratha power, "left a well governed and contented kingdom, adorned with admirable works of engineering skill, and prosperous to a point no after-time has reached".

Sir W. Sleeman's account is less laudatory. He points out that the system of government of the Gond Rajahs was to confide their territory to feudatory chiefs who were bound to attend on the Prince at his call with a stipulated number of troops to be employed at the will of the Chief but he was not required to furnish much revenue. The large number of Zemindaris in the Chanda District witnesses to the prevalence of this semi-feudal form of rule.

The people benefited by the unambitious policy of their Princes and they appear to have been comparatively happy and prosperous though not progressive.

A fever of fort and palace building seems to have animated the Gond rulers about the 15th and 16th centuries and to that period and the 17th century the forts, such as Chanda, Wairagarh, Tipagarh and Surajgarh in the Chanda District, belong as well as many buildings in northern kingdoms.

The Maratha conquest seems to have been effected by their usual method less by direct war than by worrying and harrying raids carried out until in desperation the harassed people endeavoured to purchase peace by paying the Chaut, or tribute of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the revenue, to the Maratha Chief.

No record giving the impressions of any European Officer concerning the Gonds exists until after the Maratha Conquest.

Rennell's Map of 1788 A.D. published by Mr. Wills in his book "Nagpur in the 18th Century" shows nearly the whole of what is now the Central Provinces as "Unexplored by Europeans."

In 1795 Captain J. T. Blunt headed a small expedition sent out by the Bengal Government "to explore a route through that part of India which lies between Berar, Orissa and the Northern Sarkars." His route passed through **Chhattisgarh**, then westward through Kanker to Wairagarh. Then southward to Sironcha. His party consisted of a Jamadar and thirty sepoys with the usual complement of peons and followers. His description of the Gonds of that period is repellent in the extreme, and one scarcely recognises the cheery Gond of our own day.

Captain Blunt had a pass from the Bhonsla Rajah, but found that it was treated with scant ceremony by some of the Gond Chiefs.

The Rajah of Kanker's pass procured them an entry into Panabaras though the road was guarded by an armed party of Gonds. "Here I perceived the Raja, seated on a rising ground gazing at us, and immediately sent the Maratha pass for his inspection, to which although he shewed some respect, he would not afford us grain nor provisions of any kind; and in the most sullen manner rejected all communication whatever. It was not until our utmost entreaties had been made that we could get guides from him; in which at length succeeding, I departed with much satisfaction from the inhospitable mansion of this Gond Chief.....A march of 50 miles more in three days brought us to Malewara, the residence of another Gond Chief... ..Durug Shah, the Raja of Malewara, supplied us with a little rice; but, until I had sent the Maratha pass for his inspection on the following day and demanded guides, he seemed to concern himself but little about us. The man whom I had deputed upon this service returned to inform me that, on his presenting the Parwanah, the Gond Chief had thrown it down and spat upon it; and, when he remonstrated with him on this disrespectful conduct towards the Raja of Berar, he replied that he was not in Nagpur and that he apprehended nothing from him. Of this unaccountable conduct I took little

notice at the time; but ordered my people to prepare for marching. Durug Shah, perceiving our measures, came towards our encampment with a large retinue; when, everything being ready to move off the ground, I sent my Munshi (writer) to him, escorted by a Naik and six sepoy, with directions to shew him the pass once more and to caution him against any disrespect to it; for notwithstanding the Raja was absent from his capital, I should, on my arrival at Wairagarh, lose no time in transmitting an account of the insult to the Maratha officers who were in charge of the government. He seemed to be startled at the sight of the sepoy and, as soon as the message was delivered to him, he sent to request a conference with me to which I assented. A man, called his Diwan, who spoke a little bad Hindi, was the interpreter between us. The result of our interview was that Durug Shah wanted a present from me: I told him his inhospitable treatment did not merit it and that I should give him none. At this he appeared much offended; but, finding that his importunities availed him nothing, he ordered three of his Gonds to attend us as guides with whom we immediately departed, leaving him no time to waver or to countermand his orders."

After some further adventures Captain Blunt reached Rajahmundry in safety, on the 24th of May 1795 A.D. He thus concludes his narrative: "The due southing in this journey was little more than eight degrees; but the circuitous windings we were obliged to take to penetrate through the country had increased the whole distance to 1,125 British miles. The hard service which the cattle had endured had reduced them to so low that a fourth part were now too much exhausted to recover and perished. Two of my Harkaras (peons) had been cut off by the Gonds; which, with four followers attached to the sepoy, was the whole loss our party had sustained; and, considering the difficult nature of the service, it was as little as could be expected. Indeed, the utter impossibility of any individual escaping who might leave the party had necessitated the utmost precaution and indefatigable exertions of the whole for our mutual preservation; and in many situations of difficulty I was infinitely obliged to them for that zealous support and attachment which were productive of so fortunate and successful a termination to our toils."

One can only conclude from this that the Gonds had been so harassed by the raids and the rule of the Maratha Chiefs of Nagpur that they were determined to close their jungles to all strangers. It appears that only Banjaras ventured in to trade in salt and cloths in return for jungle produce: iron and lac, and they only ventured in after the most sure guarantee against attack and plunder.

It is interesting to compare Captain Blunt's description of the Gond Zemindars with Major Lucie Smith's account in his Settlement Report of the descendants of the same Zemindar and his people some eighty years afterwards. The Major writes:—

"Drug Shah, aged 35 years, a Raj Gond of the Muravi Section has recently succeeded to the Zemindarship of Panabaras. He is a tall heavy

looking man, possessed of a fair amount of intelligence, and I think anxious since his accession, to do well."

He states that the family possessed a Morchul and Chauri with silver handles which were said to have been presented to an ancestor Dham Shah by the **Delhi Emperor**. He describes the Zemindari people much as they are now, as quiet folk living in 114 villages cultivating the usual grain and millet crops and procuring lac, honey, tasar silk cocoons and the usual jungle products from their forests and selling a certain amount of iron ore.

In 1818 A.D. the Gond Zemindars of Chanda sided with Appa Sahab against the British and Sir Richard Jenkins writes of them, "Like people of the same class in other parts of the country, they were very troublesome at first, but the activity of our detachments, and the vigilance with which their attacks were directed by Captain Crawford never allowed them a moment's respite while they continued in arms, and when they submitted they were treated with every kind of indulgence, which indeed has not been thrown away as they have since 1819 A.D. been quiet and orderly."

I have tried to give a fair statement of the historical problem of the Gonds, setting forth as justly as I can the arguments for and against the different solutions of the puzzle. I do not conceal my own opinion which is that the Gonds migrated into the Central Provinces from South India, in the period between the 10th and the 13th centuries, and that they were not the aboriginal inhabitants of the Central Provinces.

But it is a question which I hope will receive in future expert study from your Society and I assure you that any conclusion you arrive at on convincing evidence will be welcome by amateurs like myself whether it be for or against our pet theories.

I ask your pardon for having occupied so much of your time.

Gondwana with special reference to Garh-Katanga and Deogarh from the 15th to the 18th centuries.

Based on original Muhammadan authorities.

(By Hirde Narain, M.A.)

Definition of Gondwana and its extent in the 16th century.

The name Gondwana seems to have been originally given to a tract of a country lying to the immediate South of the Satpura mountains in which certain tribes of Gond race lived. Later on, however, it was extended to the whole of the modern Central Provinces. Both Todd and Abul Fazal describe it as the country inhabited by the Gonds. The meaning of the term 'Gondwana', therefore, varied at different periods of Indian History according to

the area actually occupied or believed to be occupied by the Gonds. Abul Fazal in his 'Akbarnamah' identifies Gondwana with Garh-Katanga which he describes as an extensive tract of 150 Kos by 80 Kos (1 Kos being equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles) bounded on the North by Panna, on the South by the Deccan, on the East by Ratanpur (a dependency of Jharkhand or Chhota Nagpur) and on the West by Malwa. He further mentions that it "contains populous cities and towns, so that truthful narrators have stated that Garh-Katanga contained 70,000 inhabited villages¹ The capital is the fortress of Chauragarh". Though his boundaries and measurements are not quite accurate, the statistical tables of his *Ain-i-Akbari* with regard to the Sarkar of Garha show the administrative distribution of the country under the Mughals at the end of the 16th century or roughly speaking a quarter of a century after Akbar's conquest of Garh-Katanga. We can, therefore, reasonably conclude that the Garh Sarkar before and after the Muhammadan conquest approximately comprised the districts of Jubbulpore, Damoh with a small part of Bundelkhand; parts of Saugor and whole of Narsingpur with some portion of Bhopal; parts of Hoshangabad and Betul and the whole of Chhindwara, Seoni, Mandla, Balaghat with perhaps Bhandara and Wairagarh in Chanda, (*vide* 'The Raj Gond Maharajas of the Satpura Hills' by Mr. C. U. Wills, I. C. S.).

Kingdoms of Gondwana:—Kherla & Chanda.

During the 15th century Gondwana was divided into four independent kingdoms—the kingdom of Garh-Katanga with its chief city at Garha only three miles from Jubbulpore, the kingdom of Deogarh in the Chhindwara district, the kingdom of Kherla in the Betul district and the kingdom of Chanda with its capital first at Sirpur and then at Chanda. Since reading and writing were unknown to the Gonds, no Gond literature was ever produced, and the lack of materials has seriously handicapped the writing of a full history of the Gond dynasties. In a short paper like this it is impossible to deal with all these kingdoms at length. I, therefore, propose to give a bird's eye view of all the kingdoms with a special reference to the kingdoms of 'Garh-Katanga' and 'Deogarh' about which we get more information from Muhammadan historians.

1. *Kherla*.—The first mention of Kherla is in a religious work called 'Viveka Sindhu' written by one Mukund Raj Swami, a religious ascetic who lived in the time of Jaipal, the ruler of Kherla at the end of the 13th century. But Ferishta is the earliest Muhammadan historian who gives an account of Kherla and to whom subsequent writers owe much for his valuable information. He mentions² that in the year 1399 A. D., Narsingh Rai, the Raja of Kherla, who 'being possessed of the hills of Gondwana and other countries' had great wealth and power devastated the territories of the Bahmani king Feroza Shah at the instigation of the Muhammadan kings of

¹ Beveridge's *Akbarnamah*, II, pp. 323-24.

² Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp.

Malwa and Khandesh, but was finally defeated and had to make peace with the Bahmani king. After this Kherla remained tranquil till the year 1425 A. D., when Narsingh Rai incurred the wrath of Hoshang Shah the King of Malwa by refusing to join him against the Bahmani king. His territories were invaded twice by Hoshang Shah who was repulsed each time, and who was completely defeated in the third engagement. Eight years after Narsingh Rai was slain in an encounter with Hoshang Shah and his fort and dependent territory were occupied by the king of Malwa. On receiving this intimation, the Bahmani king marched against Malwa, but the ruler of Khandesh intervened, and it was settled that the fort of Kherla should belong to Hoshang Shah, and the province of Berar to Ahmad Shah, king of Ellichpur. With the decline of the Moghal influence in the Deccan, Kherla passed into the hands of Bakht Buland, the famous Gond ruler of Deogarh and remained in the possession of his successors till the rise of the Maratha power.

The question whether the Kherla rulers were Hindus or Gonds is open to doubt. Sir George Elliot in his Settlement Report of 1869 on the Hoshangabad district says "It has been stated that Kherla was the seat of an old Gond kingdom. This may have been the case at the time, although Ferishta does not say anything about it and the name of Narsingh Rai is not a Gond but a Hindu name". Sir Charles Grant in his introduction to Central Provinces Gazetteer of 1870 mentions "The Kherla princes have been generally set down as Gonds, but I cannot find on what authority. There seems to be quite as much, if not more reason for considering them to have been Kshatriyas. The local legends certainly attribute that dignity to them". It is interesting to note in this connection that Ferishta calls the Kherla rulers as 'Hindus' and 'infidels' and expressly distinguishes them from the Gonds. Colonel Briggs also remarks "Ferishta appears to be aware that the Gonds were not Hindus, a fact which is but little known to Indians in general and to Europeans in particular". Taking all these statements together along with the cogent arguments advanced by Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Commissioner of Nagpur Division, in his book on 'The Raj Gond Maharajas of the Satpura Hills', I am inclined to think that the Kherla rulers were not of Gond descent.

2. *Chanda (15th to 18th centuries).*—We now turn to the southern Gond kingdom of Chanda where a Gond dynasty of kings had superseded a dynasty of Kshatriya kings known as the Mana kings. Tradition has it that it was due to one man named Kol Bhil that the Gonds owe the beginnings of their rule. Kol Bhil, great in wisdom and strength, welded the scattered tribes of Gonds into one nation and taught them the elements of civilization. The Mana kings were subdued after 200 years and the first king of the Gond dynasty was Bhim Ballal Singh who ruled about the year 1240 A. D. He was succeeded by eighteen other kings till the year 1751 A. D., when Raghuji took possession of the kingdom of Chanda. A few kings of this dynasty from the 15th century onward deserve special mention. The tenth ruler Khandkia Ballah Shah (1437-1462 A. D.), who was accidentally cured of his tumours by drinking water from a spring near Jharpat, built the famous temple of

Achaleshwar on the advice of his queen, and later on laid the foundations of the city of Chanda. His successor Hir Shah completed the Chanda gates, built the citadel and a palace within it, granted Sanads to distinguished persons who agreed to cut down forests and found villages and introduced something like a rudimentary land-revenue system. The thirteenth king was a patron of Hindu religion and learning, built numerous temples and improved the administration of justice. His son and successor Babaji Ballah Shah (1572-97 A. D.), was a weak profligate, but is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as an independent Gond king, paying no tribute to the emperor and owning an army of 10,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry. The eighteenth ruler Raw Shah (1672-1735 A. D.), was reported to be just, truthful and daring. He increased the bounds of the kingdom, erected several hill forts and maintained a chosen band of warriors each of whom was granted some land. In 1718 A. D., the Raja of Satara obtained from the Emperor of Delhi formal permission to levy Chauth throughout the Moghalai Deccan, and twelve years after he sent Raghuji against Chanda. But Raghuji was so much struck with the courtesy and calm behaviour of Ram Shah that instead of fighting with him he did homage to him as a god. During the reign of the last king Nilkanth Shah who was vicious and cruel, Raghuji took possession of the whole kingdom in 1751.

Garh-Katanga (15th to 18th centuries).—We are not concerned here with the Buddhist or Hindu dynasties that ruled in this part of India before the Gonds rose into power. Suffice it to say that the archæological evidence proves conclusively that the sovereignty of the Chandels extended over this tract in the beginning of the 14th century. After the last great Chandel prince, Hamir Varmadeo, the country round Garha, most probably, passed into the hands of the Delhi kings, for Garh-Katanga covering the line of communication between Hindustan and Southern India might have been brought under the control of Ala-ud-din Khilji before his campaigns in the Deccan. This is also borne out by Abul Fazal's remark in the *Akbarnamah* that Asaf Khan, after the capture of the fortress of Chauragarh in 1564 A. D., secured 'one hundred jars full of Ala-ud-din Ashrafs'. The dismemberment of the Delhi empire at the end of the 14th century gave an opportunity to local chiefs to assert their power, and to Jadurai's founding a Gond kingdom in northern Gondwana in spite of the fact that there are different versions of the story. We know very little about the immediate successors of Jadurai except their names which are given in the Ramnagar inscription and which do not tally with Abul Fazal's account of early Gond kings in the *Akbar-namah*. But it is to Sangram Shah that northern Gondwana owes its real greatness and fame. Abul Fazal writes 'As Amar Das had given valuable help to Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat in the conquest of Raisin, the latter had increased his dignity by giving him the title of Sangram Shahi. He was the son of Arjundas son of Sangin Das'. This seems to be a mistake, for Bahadur Shah Gujrati came upon the scene in 1526 A. D., while Sangram Shah, according to the evidence of his gold coins, had secured the title in 1513 A. D. In *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana* (Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 12) it is mentioned

that on Sikandar Lodi's death, Jalaludin rebelled against his brother Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and fled to Garh-Katanga from where he was sent as a captive to Sultan Ibrahim. This signal service probably accounts for the rise of Sangram Shah whose reign lasted some 30 or 40 years down to 1541 A. D. He extended his small kingdom and is credited to have built the fortress of Chauragarh in Narsinghpur, the Sangram Sagar lake in the vicinity of Garha, and a temple called Bajra Math dedicated to the fierce God Bhairava.

He was succeeded by his son Dalpat Shah who on account of his splendid appearance and daring succeeded in marrying Durgavati, the daughter of the Chandel Raja of Mohoba of the famous Rajput clan. His reign was uneventful and when he died in 1548 A. D., he left a son Bir Narayan, about three or five years of age and his widow as regent during his minority. Abul Fazal in the *Akbarnamah* says "when Dalpat died his son Bir Narayan was five years old. Rani Durgavati in concurrence with Adhar and Man Brahmin gave her son the title of Raja and exercised the real authority herself She had great contests with Baz Bahadur and the Mianas (Afghans) and was always victorious. She had 20,000 Gond cavalry with her in her battles and 1,000 famous elephants She was a good shot with gun and arrow, and continually went ahunting, and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that whenever she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him But she had one great fault to wit, she, owing to a crowd of flatterers became proud of her outward success, and did not submit herself at the threshold of the Shahinshah".³ Captain Sleeman in his history of Garh Mandla Rajas (*A. S. of Bengal, 1837, Vol. VI, part II*) also attests to her greatness by saying "of all the sovereigns of this dynasty, Durgavati lives most in the pages of history and the grateful recollections of the people". Ferishta also mentions that Rani Durgavati some time between 1555 and 1560 defeated Baz Bahadur, king of Malwa and the Afghans living near Raisin.⁴ Thus from all accounts it is clear that Rani Durgavati took over the regency of the kingdom at her husband's death in 1548, strengthened her authority within her dominions and repelled all outside attack. Abul Fazal has given a very interesting account of the conquest of Garh-Katanga by Asaf Khan, the Moghal Viceroy of Karra Manikpur in 1564 A. D., which for want of time I cannot quote in full. He mentions how the reports of her beauty and wealth had made Asaf Khan much against her, how she disdained to fly when advised by her councillors, how she screwed up the courage of her followers and how after her defeat, preferring death to dishonour, she died by her own hand rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. Her simple tomb called the 'Chabutra' about 10 miles from Jubbulpore is still held in reverence by all. Asaf Khan secured a large booty in jewels, pearls, gold, images of gods, and 1,000 elephants after the conquest of Chauragarh fort. But being of an ambitious spirit, he tried to establish in Garh his independent sovereignty, but after a

³ Beveridge's *Akbarnamah*, II, pp. 324-327.

⁴ Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. IV, p. 277.

struggle of a few years returned to the allegiance of the Emperor, was pardoned and restored to the government of Manikpur.

On Asaf Khan's departure we read of the appointment of Muhammadan Jagirdars in Garh-Katanga in the *Akbar-namah* and *Masir-ul-Umara* up to the year 1587 A. D. Since Akbar could not systematise administration in such a remote and unproductive country and Muhammadan Mansabdars found service in Gondwana irksome, the Garha chiefs were restored to part of their former hegemony towards the close of his reign. We find in *Jahangir's Memoirs* that in 1617 A. D., the Rajah of Garha Prem Narain waited on the emperor and was promoted to a mansab of 1,000 personnel and 500 horse, but no chief of Garh-Katanga other than those of Garh and Deogarh seems to have risen to the rank of Mansabdar or to have paid personal visits to the emperor. According to the *Badshahnama* in 1634 A. D. Jhujhar Singh Bundela treacherously murdered Prem Shah and seized his capital of Chauragarh. Prem Shah's son Hirde Shah, who was at Delhi, hastened back to his country and avenged his father by defeating and killing the Bundela Jhujhar Singh and recovering the fortress of Chauragarh. Hirde Shah built a fine reservoir in the neighbourhood of Garha, transferred the seat of government from Garha to Ramnagar near Mandla, had a pedigree of the Royal house of Gondwana prepared and inscribed on the walls of his palace at Ramnagar and encouraged cultivation. He died about the year 1678 A. D., and was succeeded by three other kings till in the time of Maharaj Shah (1732-42 A. D.), Balaji Peshwa, taking advantage of Raghoji's absence in the Carnatic made himself master of Garha-Mandla country in 1742 A. D.

4. *Deogarh*.—Deogarh developed on lines different from those which the Garha kingdom had followed, and came into prominence after the Moghal conquest of Garh-Katanga. The Deogarh house makes no claim to pure Rajput blood or connection, and its representatives describe themselves as 'the ruling class among the Gonds'. Until 1564 A. D. the Raja of Harya and Deogarh was a feudatory of the Garh-Katanga princes, but after the withdrawal of the Moghal Mansabdars from Garh-Katanga, the Deogarh Chief Jatba emerged as the 'Maharaja' of an extensive tract of country half of which had formerly owned allegiance to Durgavati. Harya is mentioned in Abul Fazal's list of the local Rajas of the Garh-Katanga and also in *Jahangir's Memoirs* as an influential Zamindar who presented two elephants to the emperor in 1616 A. D. According to the family history he is said to have ruled from 1542 to 1602 A. D., but from the references in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (1584) and *Jahangir's Memoirs* (1616) it is more probable that he ruled from 1584 to 1620 A. D. He had 50,000 foot soldiers, 1,500 horse and 100 elephants. He had a considerable territory under his control, had a mint and struck copper coins in his own name on which he styled himself "Maharaja". During Jahangir's reign the Raj Gond princes extended their authority not only over Lanji and Kherla to the East but also over some Moghal territory to the West. But with the accession of Shahjahan, Akbar's forward policy in the Deccan was revived and Deogarh was invaded by one of Shahjahan's generals named Khan-i-Daman who subjugated the forts of Keljhar and

Ashta (1637). From Abdul Hamid's account in the *Badshahnamah* it is clear that Nagpur was included in Deogarh, for the old Gond sila of Nagpur was also besieged and conquered in 1637, though it was returned to Kokiyan (Kokshah) on his presenting 150,000 rupees and 170 elephants and promising to pay four lakhs of rupees every three years.⁵ Nawab Samsam-ud-daulah Shah, the author of *Maasr-i-Alamgiri* refers to the Moghal incursions in Deogarh in the year 1648, 1655, 1667, 1670, which need not be described here. Aurangzeb's letters from the Deccan to Shahjahan written about 1655 A. D. also throw much light on the dealings of the Moghal emperor with Deogarh. From 1670 A. D., the Subah of Berar to which Deogarh belonged, began to be attacked by the Marathas, and a rivalry between the Moghals and the Marathas ensued for predominance in the Deccan. Down to 1689 A. D. the Moghal arms prospered, but after 1700 A. D. even Deogarh could throw off the Moghal yoke under Bakht Buland who had been converted into a Muhammadan by the emperor and whose name was changed to 'Nigun Bakht' or of mean fortune. Bakht Buland died in 1706 and was succeeded by his son Chand Sultan who ruled till 1739 A. D. Chand Sultan transferred his capital from Deogarh to Nagpur. Two persian manuscripts dated 1719 A. D. show that Chand Sultan was in high favour with Syed Husain Ali, the Subehdar of the Deccan and one of the king makers of Indian History (*vide* the Raj Gond Maharajas of the Satpura Hills). 'One of the documents confers upon Chand Sultan, the Berar Parganah of Amner in the Kherla Sarkar as a Jagir. The other proposes Mansabs for Chand Sultan's brother and their nephews.' There were, of course, inroads of the Marathas and Muhammadans during his time and Grant Duff speaks of the partial conquests in Gondwana by Kanoji Bhonsla and the Sena Saheb Subah. On Chand Sultan's death in 1739 Wali Shah usurped the throne, and Chand Sultan's widow invoked the aid of Raghuji Bhonsla of Berar in the interests of her sons Burhan Shah and Akbar Shah. Raghoji replaced the two sons of Chand Sultan on the throne, but dissensions among the brothers made real power pass into the hands of the Maratha Chief. Burhan Shah's descendants continued to occupy the position of state prisoners, and the Deogarh family was ousted from all political power.

I cannot do better than conclude this short paper by a few remarks from Sir Richard Jenkins' 'Report on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur' (1827) about the Semi-feudal Deogarh system of administration. He says 'In both provinces (Deogarh and Chanda) the original principles of the Gond Government were the same. The Rajas were not first a little more than the feudal superiors of a number of petty chiefs, their relations or dependants who contributed nothing but their military service. The Rajas, like their feudatories, possessed a territorial domain in which alone they exercised direct authority The whole of the country from an early period seems to have been divided into parganahs each consisting of an indefinite number of villages To each of them was attached under the Gond government the common Zamindar, Establishments of Deshmukh and Deshpande'.

⁵ *Badshahnama*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 230-233.

The Embassy of H. T. Colebrooke at the Court of the Bhonsla Raghoji II.

(By H. N. Sinha, M.A.).

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of the territories of the Bhonslas of Nagpur for the British East India Company, in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Indeed the territories of the Bhonslas, wrote Mr. Hastings in 1777, "are of more importance to us than any others from their contiguity to ours", and therefore he showed a good deal of concern to keep his contemporary Mudhaji Bhonsla well disposed towards the Company. During the First Maratha War his friendship went a great way to help the Company out of that disaster. Cornwallis followed the policy of Hastings with regard to the Bhonsla, and they had each sent an embassy to his court. We are here concerned with the embassy of Mr. Colebrooke, who came to Nagpur as an agent of Wellesley to negotiate for alliances more ambitious in their conception than those with which the first two embassies had been charged.

When Wellesley arrived at Calcutta on the 17th of May 1798, the affairs of the Company had taken a very untoward turn. The non-intervention policy of Sir John Shore had undermined the prestige of the English, and in proportion as the English prestige had suffered that of the French had grown dominant. Tipu had been intriguing with them more fearlessly than ever before. They had been welcomed at every court, and the armies of three powerful states of India had been trained and officered by the French. "It was not beyond the bounds of probability that all the French commanders might unite to strike a deadly blow at the power of the English in the East."

In this crisis the clear vision of Wellesley never erred as to the vital points at issue. Tipu must be crushed, and the British prestige must be restored at the cost of the French—these were the two great problems before him. To achieve these he concluded a series of alliances with the chief powers of the Deccan. He drove out the French from the court of the Nizam, reinstated the English in their stead, and concluded a subsidiary alliance with him. He approached the Peshwa with proposals for a similar alliance but the latter declined. Then he turned to the Bhonsla of Nagpur, Raghoji II, and appointed Mr. H. T. Colebrooke as his ambassador at his court on 23rd July 1798.¹

Colebrooke did not arrive at Nagpur until the 18th of March 1799,² and soon after his arrival he was ordered to secure a passage through Bhonsla's

¹ Nagpur Residency Records (in the possession of C. P. Government), Vol. I, letter No. 1.

² *Ibid.*, letter No. 4.

territories for a relieving force proceeding from Kalpi to Fort St. George.³ The chief object of the mission was, however, to conclude a subsidiary alliance with the Rajah, and Colebrooke seized the earliest opportunity to broach the subject. He tried to impress upon the Rajah the pressing need for a quadruple alliance between the Company, the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Bhonsla for "a reciprocal guarantee of the possession of the contracting parties including the rights of their allies so that in case of aggression by an enemy of the allied states they would all co-operate to repel the enemy".⁴ The enemy meant was Tipu.

This suggestion reminded the Rajah of another occasion, *i.e.*, of the Triple Alliance (against Tipu), when he had not been even referred to. Hence with an air of politic indifference he told Colebrooke "that the territories of the Company, the Nizam and the Peshwa bordered on those of Tipu, that his did not, that the allied states had partaken of the distress and hazards of a war in which they were all immediately interested and they had participated in the fruits of victory".⁵ If he cared to join "he ought also to participate in the benefits of the war".⁶ That was a broad hint that the Rajah was not unwilling to an alliance.

But before long it was given up for another. The steady progress of the English in the war against Tipu alarmed the Poona Durbar. The Peshwa together with the Sindhia concerned measures detrimental to the interest of the English, withheld the Maratha contingent they had promised to send in aid of the English, and renewed their pretensions to the arrears of the Chauth on the Nizam. This seemed to upset the plans of the Governor General, and he wrote on the 25th April 1799 to arrange with the court of Nagpur in concert with that of Hyderabad, as speedily as possible, a Treaty of Defensive alliance between the Company, the Nizam and the Rajah of Berar and their successors to counteract the hostile projects of Daulat Rao Sindhia.⁷

The Governor General, however, had directed his agent not to mention to the Rajah Peshwa's complicity in the designs of the Sindhia. Whether Raghoji was aware at this time of the proceedings of the Peshwa and Sindhia is only to be conjectured. At any rate Raghoji appeared ignorant on the 20th May 1799 when Mr. Colebrooke informed him about it. He could not however believe how the Sindhia thought of aggressive measures when he was "sufficiently employed by his domestic contests fomented by Purshoram Bhow."⁸ But he showed his eagerness to know if the Peshwa authorised or connived at them. The Resident giving an evasive reply, the Bhonsla made it clear to him that he could not enter into an engagement against a member of the Maratha Confederacy without referring to the Peshwa.

But gradually the designs of the Sindhia and Peshwa became more and more pronounced. On the 2nd May Tipu was killed. The division and

³ Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. I, letter No. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, letter No. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, letter No. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, letter No. 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, letter No. 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, letter No. 13.

destruction of his dominions that followed, gave a shock to the Poona Court. It completely upset the balance of power in the South. The Nizam was already the ally of the Company; the Hindu State that arose on the ruins of Tipu's dominions was bound to the English, by the strongest ties of gratitude, and the English, masters of the rich lands of Bengal, now became virtual lords of the South. To all far-sighted statesmen it was clear that they would soon be the masters of India. Hence the Peshwa and Sindhia set more actively than ever to neutralize the advantages of the English.

By the middle of July the Bhonsla had also been apprised of their designs. He dreaded Sindhia's influence on the Peshwa and intended to visit Poona "to assist in restoring order to the affairs of the empire".⁹

He however did not go, and about three weeks later the Resident reported that "intelligence has been received from Poona relative to projects, there agitated for invading the Nizam's dominions, immediately after the rainy season".¹⁰ The Rajah apprehended danger to his own dominions but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by the arrival of the Vakils from Poona late in September 1799¹¹. The Resident who had hitherto hoped on account of the fear and jealousy stirred by Sindhia's ambitious designs, that the Bhonsla would before long accede to his request found his hopes frustrated. Raghoji in spite of his late apprehensions of Sindhia's invasion and the advice of his friend Azim-ul-Omrah¹² of Hyderabad to conclude the necessary alliance with the English, insisted on his former fetish of referring to the Peshwa.

At this juncture, unfortunately, Nana Fadnavis passed away. His influence was already on the wane and from January 1800, began his ailments which carried him off on the 13th March 1800. "With him departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government", wrote the Resident at Poona. It removed the last effective check on the ambition of the Sindhia and plunged the Maratha Confederacy into a Civil War that tore that splendid fabric into tatters.

While the Maratha Chiefs were cutting the throats of one another, Wellesley, now rid of Tipu, calmly perfected his policy of binding down the rest of the Deccan powers. He had foreseen the importance of Nagpur State. It controlled, he wrote, "the means of disturbing us in consequence of its local position with respect to our richest and most valuable possessions"¹³. It was equally so with respect to the Nizam's dominions. He feared the aggrandisement of the Sindhia at the cost of the Nizam, but far more, his alliance with the Bhonsla for that "would open to a needy and unprincipled chief rich and flowing provinces of Bengal"¹⁴.

⁹ Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. I, letter No. 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, letter No. 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, letter Nos. 27 and 29.

¹² *Ibid.*, letter No. 29.

¹³ *Ibid.*, letter No. 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, letter No. 43.

Hence a treaty of alliance should be made with the Nizam, Peshwa and the Bhonsla, and "the proposed treaty with the Peshwa failing or not being likely to take place Raghoji Bhonsla is to be invited to accede to the defensive engagements which Captain Kirkpatrick has been instructed to conclude with the Nizam". This treaty should be based on the "establishment of a British Subsidiary force in the Raja's dominions" for the maintenance of which he should assign "such part of the province of Cuttack as should be adequate to the purpose and shall place under the management of the Company such a tract of territory as should establish the continuity of their dominions from Bengal to the Northern Circars"¹⁵. That would take the sting out of the Bhonsla.

When the Resident put these proposals before the Rajah on the 21st May 1800, he hesitated to accept them. The crux of the question was the subsidiary force. He wavered in indecision till he heard towards the end of June that the Sindhia wanted to take the offensive "immediately after the rainy season"¹⁶. Raghoji felt helpless and on the 6th July the Resident wrote, "that the Rajah has now declared in explicit terms his willingness to an alliance for the purposes indicated in the overtures made to him on the 21st May last But he postponed for a future day a further proceeding in the negotiations, alleging that the proposition was weighty and required deliberation"¹⁷. Ten or twelve days later he heard, Sindhia's Vakil was coming to Nagpur and therefore postponed his final decision till his arrival¹⁸.

Not long afterwards the Sindhia left Poona to chastise Yaswant Rao Holkar. The Peshwa, tired of his domination, seized this opportunity to stretch his hands for help to Raghoji¹⁹. It was just after his heart's desire, and on the 2nd October the Resident was surprised to hear that Raghoji wanted to send Shridhar Pandit and Krishna Rao "for the purpose of concerting the means of retrieving his (Peshwa's) authority from the thralldom in which he was held by Doulat Rao Sindhia"²⁰. Nothing was more injurious to the interests of Raghoji than the establishment of friendly relations between the Peshwa and Sindhia; for he was a great friend of Nana, and Nana was their avowed enemy. Now since Nana was no more, the Sindhia had left Poona and the Peshwa sought for his help to throw off the hated tutelage of the Sindhia, the Bhonsla found it expedient to enter into an alliance with the English together with the Peshwa Baji Rao. He would thus get in the first place better terms for himself; next he would "make merit with the Peshwa of his entering into engagements with the Company and Nizam for the Peshwa's benefit rather than for his own", and lastly he might hope for the Peshwa's approval of Nana's unauthorized remission of the tribute, in return for his services²¹. On the 7th October therefore, the

¹⁵ Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. I, letter No. 43.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, letter No. 50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, letter No. 51.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, letter No. 55.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, letter No. 57.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, letter No. 62.

²¹ *Ibid.*, letter No. 62.

Resident was informed, that the treaty negotiations should be postponed till the confidential agents returned from Poona.

But on the 20th October it was known at Nagpur that the Peshwa had rejected the terms of the proposed treaty and intended a reconciliation with the Sindhia ²². Raghoji was frightened and postponed the deputation. For once the pendulum seemed to have swung back, and the chances for the English to resume negotiations became favourable. But at this time the Treaty of Defensive alliance concluded between the Company and the Nizam on the 12th October spoiled everything.

At the interview on the 15th November 1800, the Resident had to stand a searching criticism of the treaty by Moonshi Shridhar Pandit, Rajah's minister. "The indentivity of the two persons the Company and Nizam as mentioned in the preamble and the explanatory clause of the second article were particularly noticed by him", and he observed that any misunderstanding "between the Nizam and Peshwa or Nizam and the Rajah of Berar such as formerly has occurred and possibly may again occur through the hasty proceedings and temporary irritation sometimes of one, sometimes of the other party, might now interrupt the harmony between the Company and the Peshwa or the Rajah of Berar" ²³. Therefore the Peshwa or the Sindhia and the Bhonsla out of a sense of sheer self-defence must draw together, and sink their differences in order to oppose a united front to the league of the Company and the Nizam.

Now an alliance with Raghoji was hopeless. His helplessness was gone and his position became stronger. It becomes clear from a hint dropped by Shridhar Pandit in the course of discussion that "the Rajah of Berar has received from the Peshwa and Sindhia intimations of their wish to his (Raja's) interposition". The Governor General would have done well had he allowed Raghoji to negotiate with him on their behalf. The Resident too recommended it. But Wellesley would not; nor would he budge an inch from his subsidiary alliance, which the Peshwa had rejected and the Bhonsla hated.

Consequently friendly inter-course opened between Nagpur and Poona. The deputation to Poona that had been deferred of late was now ordered to start on a quite different mission" ²⁴. On the 21st March 1801, the Resident reported that it was starting within a few days. By the end of April he learnt of the arrival of an express from the Peshwa requiring Raghoji's presence and notifying that Daulat Rao and other Maratha chiefs had similarly been summoned. ²⁵ At last on the 4th May Colebrooke wrote that the intelligence derived from various sources pointed to the fact that the purpose of the convention of the Maratha Chiefs was opposed to the British interests; "that the Maratha courts hope to detach the Nizam from his alliance with the Company; that the Rajah of Berar will probably meet the rest of the Maratha chiefs on the banks of the Godavari, under the pretence of religion

²² Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. 1, letter No. 64.

²³ *Ibid.*, letter No. 67.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, letters Nos. 74 and 76.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, letter No. 85.

at a fair which will be held on the last day of August next", and that overtures with the Rajah of Berar had been in progress to wrest the acquisitions of the Company in the last war with Tipu.²⁶

Now it was a broken reed—this embassy of Mr. Colebrooke. The only course open for the Governor General was to recall his representative. Shortly after Colebrooke received the order, and on the 20th May 1801 he left Nagpur.

The Importance of the Bhonslas in Indian History.

(By N. L. Belekar, M.A.).

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the sudden collapse of the Mughal Empire and the springing up of different states that either became independent of the central authority like the Nizam's or followed an aggressive policy of expansion at the cost of the once powerful Mughal power. Among the latter the Marathas were of course conspicuous, but the Europeans at the same time were not a negligible factor. In fact the rising power of the Nizam was curbed in its very cradle by the powerful Marathas. It was evident that the dominance in the south—whoever may command it—would ensure the supremacy in the north as well and we find four parties entering the arena—the Marathas and the Nizam, the French and the English. The quadrangular fight began and the first two were engaged in a life long struggle, the Marathas often gaining the upper hand, while the Nizam though vanquished would rise up again and provide enough work for them. Of the latter pair the English once for all defeated the French and made their political existence a nonentity. The final struggle was of course to be fought some time or other between the English and the Marathas which was however deferred to a later date.

The Peshwa became the titular head of the Marathas in 1714 and we find him day by day increasing his power till he reached the zenith of his prosperity at the battle of Udgir in 1760. But the story of the Peshwas is only one of the many different phases of Maratha history and a mistake is often committed by historians of ignoring to a great extent the importance of the other Maratha rulers who influenced the currents of politics at the time. One such was the Bhonsla of Nagpur.

The political history of the Bhonslas dates back to the year 1699 when Parsojee Bhonsla was made the Sena Sahib Subha of Berar by Rajaram and during all the time that the Bhonslas enjoyed political power, they were known officially by this title. Thus it will be seen that the Bhonslas were the creations of the kings of Satara like the Peshwas themselves. Partly as a result of this and partly owing to their ambition of having a governing hand in the general affairs of the Marathas they often disputed the authority

²⁶ Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. I, letter No. 85.

of the Peshwas and even crossed swords with them more than once. Parsojee however does not seem to have played any important part in the general history but he is chiefly remembered in the local history of the Marathas as it was he who first joined Sahu at Lambkani after his release by Bahadur Shah, and it was mainly through his influence that other Maratha Sirdars of note joined Sahu against Tara Bai and further we find that Parsojee Bhonsla was the main support of Sahu. There is one point however to be noticed in this connection. Balajee Vishwanath, the first Peshwa, did not rise to power while Parsojee was alive and his successor Kanhojee thought it more advisable to have a free hand in Berar and Gondwana. Thus the policy of Kanhojee indirectly helped the rise of the Peshwas, and no doubt by his natural talent and ability he was able to consolidate the power of Sahu in the Maratha country.

Throughout the history of the Bhonslas we see two main currents of politics, *viz.*, (1) their desire of being independent of the Central authority whether at Poona or Satara and (2) the aggressive policy of expansion towards the east. Kanhojee is chiefly to be credited with both these and in fact the political power of the Bhonslas may be conveniently said to begin from the date of his investiture to the office of the Sena Sahib Subha in 1711. The rule of Kanhojee Bhonsla though little known in Indian History is very important in the history of Nagpur. He was the first to see through the weakness of the Maratha confederacy which bound together the different Sirdars with only a loose bond which could at any time be broken by the semi-independent member. His residence at Bham in Berar gave him special facilities to do so while it brought him into close touch with the Princes of Gondwana. Bounded on the south by the powerful Nizam and on the north by Malwa which the Peshwas claimed as their own prize for their mercenary help to different factions at Delhi, Kanhojee saw that the only channel for the expansion of his territories lay in the east. The declining powers of the Gonds at Chanda and Deogarh, the hitherto unpenetrated tracts of Chattisgarh and the troubled condition in Bengal afforded special facilities for the ambition of the new Sena Sahib Subha. He led an expedition into Chattisgarh and Orissa in defiance of the Central authority. Partly as a result of this and partly for reasons yet unknown he rendered himself obnoxious at Satara and he was promptly superseded by his nephew Raghujee I by the orders of the king in 1734.

He had overshot the mark at the time, but his successor Raghujee had a great deal to learn from his uncle's deeds.

The Bhonslas of Nagpur enjoyed political power for just over a hundred years and in the India of the eighteenth century the kingdom of Nagpur was counted as one of the big powers. Raghujee I who ruled from 1734 to 1755 is mainly responsible for this foundation of a greater state though the idea was cherished by his predecessor. The Gond Princes gave him little trouble and soon he extended his sway over the whole of Gondwana and transferred his capital from Bham in Berar to Nagpur in Gondwana.

The Bhonslas had three very powerful neighbours with all of whom they were one day or another to come into direct conflict. These were the Peshwa, the Nizam and the Nawab of Bengal and later on the British. Baji Rao I was the great Raghujee's contemporary whose policy it was to strike at the root as a result of which he expected the branches would fall off soon of their own accord. In pursuance of this he entered into the politics of the Moghal court. Raghujee however does not seem to be in accordance with this policy and he rather preferred to chop off the branches thus rendering the root quite useless. But the simultaneous striking at the root as well as at the branches by two different persons obviously resulted in a dispute between the strikers themselves and thus very soon we find the Peshwa and the Bhonsla fighting among themselves. The Peshwa claimed the whole of Northern India as his preserve and resented the excursion of Raghujee I into Allahabad. Raghujee however succeeded in defeating the army sent by the Peshwa under Abajee Kawaday in Berar.

The Bhonslas very wisely kept themselves aloof from the Deccan politics. An exception was however made by Raghujee I who invaded the Carnatic in 1740 at the instance of Sahu returning to Poona with a valuable booty and Chanda Sahib as a prisoner. By his dazzling success in the Carnatic and his victory over the Peshwa's force it seemed he had practically thrown the Peshwa in the background. Though he did not profit himself much by his expedition in the Carnatic, yet he gained sufficient prestige to come to the forefront of the Marathas, a position which he undoubtedly held till Balajee Baji Rao succeeded in increasing his own power after some time. In Balajee Baji Rao however he found a different man to deal with.

At this very time Raghujee I and his minister Bhaskar Pant had definitely launched on an aggressive policy towards Bengal, whereas the Peshwa was determined to wrest Malwa from the Mughals at any cost. The Emperor refused to give the Sanad of Malwa to Peshwa unless he drove the Bhonsla out of Bengal in 1742, and if Grant Duff is to be believed Raghujee marched in full force towards Poona so that Balajee had no alternative but to accede to the terms of Raghuji. An agreement was reached between Raghuji and the Peshwa through the intervention of Sahu. This agreement is very important because it gives a clue to the power which the Bhonslas enjoyed at the time and for many years afterwards. Northern India was divided into two halves. The first comprising Malwa, Agra, Allahabad, Ajmere, three Taluks in the Patna district in addition to his own territories in the Deccan were to be regarded as the sphere of the Peshwa, while the second half comprising Lucknow, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and his own territories in Berar, Gondwana and Chattisgarh fell to the lot of the Bhonsla. The treaty evidently appears to be concluded between two politically independent powers and shows that the Bhonsla, though not superior to the Peshwa was at least his equal in the political arena at the time. It ensured the rapid expansion of the Maratha power in the west by the Peshwa which was ably done by his generals Sindhe, Holkar and Gaikwar, in the east by the Bhonsla who made

successive in-roads into Bengal finally wresting Orissa from Ali Verdi Khan and levying chauth on Bengal.

Apart from this the power of the Bhonslas was regarded as a political necessity in the eighteenth century. The rapid increase of power of the Peshwas was seen rightly with great alarm by the Nizam and the British and both these found in the Bhonslas a sufficient check over the menacing power of the chitpawan Brahmins. Nizam Ali set up Mudhojee as the legal representative of Sivaji in order to make him the head of the Marathas as against the Peshwa and Warren Hastings during the first Maratha War also made similar proposals to Mudhojee himself. Both these instigated the Bhonslas to claim the leadership of the Marathas. The Bhonslas however were not unwilling to proposals of alliance against the Peshwa because of their traditional hostility towards him. They were looked upon as the champions of the Non-Brahmin cause against the Brahmin supremacy in the Deccan and their alleged affinity with the house of Sivaji gave them a distinct advantage. But how far the Bhonslas themselves supported the non-Brahmin cause is doubtful. Kanhojee Bhonsla and Raghujee I paid as little deference to the orders of Sahu as to those of the Peshwa. Moreover one must not forget that there was a perfect Brahmin rule in the court of Nagpur as at Poona, the general affairs of government remaining in the hands of able Brahmin ministers like Konher Ram, Bhaskar Pant, Dewajee Pant, Chorgharay, etc. The fact is that both the Bhonslas and the Peshwas wanted to have a governing hand in the Maratha affairs and the former made capital out of their caste.

But perhaps the Bhonslas exerted the greatest influence over the history of the Nizam. It was evident that some formidable Muhammedan power in the Deccan must exist to serve as a constant check over the Peshwa, and this the Bhonslas found in the Nizam of Hyderabad, because they rightly thought that if once the Peshwa's hands were not full in the Deccan, they might pursue an aggressive policy against Nagpur. It was more or less in pursuance of this policy that Raghujee I did not go to the help of Baji Rao when he was engaged in the war with the Nizam in Northern India though often ordered to do so by Sahu. In fact it is curious to find the Bhonslas often maintained friendly relations with the Nizam even against the Peshwa. Their traditional policy seems to be to snatch as much territory as possible from the Nizam for themselves, but at the same time not allowing the Peshwas to destroy his power altogether. The bone of contention was the fertile province of Berar and the Bhonslas gradually became the defacto rulers of that province under a system called Do-Amli or double government. The Nizam, also no less a politician than the Bhonsla and the Peshwa took advantage of this peculiar situation and often set up one against the other. The reign of Janojee is full of such intrigues and we can have a clear idea of the military strength of the Nagpur State from the fact that Janojee successfully fought against the combined forces of the Peshwa and the Nizam in 1769. The only occasion on which the Bhonsla seriously engaged in an alliance with the Peshwa against the Nizam was in the year 1795 when Raghujee II joined the general

confederacy under Nana Farnavis. After the famous battle of Kharda the Bhonsla got much territory from the Nizam in addition to 28 lakhs of rupees as war indemnity. Still the fact that the Nizam State owes its existence more or less to the political power of the Bhonslas cannot be denied and by a strange irony of fate both these formidable Maratha powers are now wiped out of the map while Hyderabad enjoys the unique power of being the largest Feudatory State in India.

The last power which was directly connected with the Nagpur State was the Nawab of Bengal and later on the English who became the defacto rulers of the province. I have already pointed out that the east was the only channel left for the expansion of the Nagpur State. Chattisgarh gave the Bhonsla little trouble on their way to Orissa and Bengal. The Bhonslas were continuously engaged in the Bengal wars from 1742 to 1751, a period which forms an epoch in the local history of the province. Ali Verdy Khan, the ablest of the rulers that Bengal has ever known, had just established his authority over the province when he found the Marathas on the outskirts of his territories. It is needless to go into the many campaigns of Raghuji I and his generalissimo Bhaskar Pant. Suffice it to say that all the power of the Nawab, his treacherous murder of the Maratha general and even the calling-in-aid of the Peshwa did not check the rapid advance of the Bhonslas. He thus acted wisely in purchasing a peace from the Bhonslas agreeing to cede Orissa and pay chaauth for Bengal annually. In the general history of the Marathas and even of India this particular aspect, *viz.*, the eastern expansion of the Marathas does not seem to have received its due recognition and it has been the tendency to dispose off this point in a half-hearted manner. In fact this eastern expansion was as important as the western, the value of which was seen during the wars between the Marathas and the English.

The Battle of Plassey in 1757 made the English the defacto rulers of Bengal and from this time the Bhonslas came into touch with the English. Perhaps the Bhonslas were the first of the Maratha powers about whom the British had to think very seriously. By the year 1763 the whole eastern coastline was in the hands of the British except that of the province of Orissa. This province separated the northern Sircars from Bengal both of which were British possessions. Thus it greatly hampered the intercourse between these two territories and hence Lord Clive sent one Mr. Thomas to "sound the officers of Janojee's court whether he would not cede the province of Orissa for an annual tribute so as to give a contiguity to the British dominions in India which would strengthen them greatly". He saw the value of the friendship with the Bhonslas and in a despatch to the Directors of the East India Company in 1767, he made it quite clear. The Bhonslas however did not take any action against the English when they refused to pay the annual chaauth agreed by Ali Verdi Khan, Janojee being busy in his wars with the Nizam and the Peshwa.

Exactly at the time when disputes arose about the succession at Poona between Raghoba and the ministerial party, Nagpur also experienced a

similar struggle between the two brothers Mudhojee and Sabajee over the regency of the minor king Raghujee II. Mudhojee joined Raghoba while Sabajee leagued with the ministerial party. These local questions of succession brought in a general war with the English and it was in this first Maratha War that the Bhonslas played a very important part. Sabajee became the ruler of Nagpur while Mudhojee shared the fate of Raghoba. He was known as an avowed enemy of the British and since he became powerful the British had to tackle this question very seriously. Fortunately he was all the while busy in watching the actions of his brother and was finally killed in the battle of Panchgaon, a village only 9 miles from Nagpur by his brother Mudhojee who thus came into power. This often-forgotten battle of Panchgaon has a great significance. By it the British lost one of its determined enemies who might have proved aggressive towards Bengal in the war. Mudhojee was an open partisan of Raghoba and the English and thus the British were now quite safe from this side. Secret negotiations were constantly going on between Warren Hastings and Mudhojee who had sent an army of 30,000 strong into Orissa under Chimna Bapu. In spite of the secret assurances of Mudhojee Warren Hastings got alarmed at the appearance of this formidable army into Orissa and purchased the neutrality of Mudhojee by paying him 18 lakhs of rupees as the chauch of Bengal. What would have been the effect on the general course of the Maratha War if Mudhojee had ordered his army to invade Bengal, one cannot say with certainty. But surely Warren Hastings' task would have been rendered very difficult taxing even his ingenious brain. In Orissa thus the Bhonslas held the real key to their political importance in the latter half of the 18th century though they themselves scarcely realised it, and Lord Wellesley snatched the first opportunity to wrest this province from them by the Treaty of Devgam in 1803.

Negotiations between the Hon'ble East India Company and Bhonsla Rajahs regarding the Establishment of a Subsidiary Force in the Nagpur State.

(By T. Fernandez, M.A.)

On the 1st June 1816 the Marquess of Hastings made the following entry in his private Diary:—"This day has brought to me the treaty of alliance by which Nagpur in fact ranges itself as a Feudatory State under our protection. A singular contention of personal interests at the Court of that country, resulting from the unexpected death of Raghuji Bhonsla, the late Rajah, has enabled me to effect that which has been fruitlessly laboured at for the last twelve years".

It is the purpose of this paper to narrate the unsuccessful efforts made to induce Raghuji II to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the English after his defeat in the Second Maratha War, and the circumstances under which the

subsidiary alliance was ultimately formed in the reign of Parsoji Bhonsla, the successor of Raghuji II, through the instrumentality of the Regent Appa Saheb. The narrative is based on the correspondence between the English Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla and the Governor General.

Introductory.

The negotiations on the subject of the subsidiary alliance first commenced in the year 1799 when Wellesley in pursuance of his purpose to make the British the paramount Power in India, sought to bind the chief native Powers in India to the British with a chain of subsidiary alliances, the cardinal features of the treaty of alliance being that the contracting native power should agree—

- (a) not to engage in any war without the consent of the British.
- (b) Not to employ any European in its service without the consent of the British.
- (c) To maintain at its own expense a Military Force which would be under the control of the British.

The efforts made in the year 1799 however to induce the Bhonsla to join in a subsidiary alliance were unsuccessful and when the Peshwa Baji Rao II was forced to sign the Treaty of Bassein in 1802 it was chiefly through the efforts of the Bhonsla that a confederacy of the Bhonsla, Sindhia, and Holkar was formed against the British. The Bhonsla was however defeated and on the 17th December 1803 he was forced to sign the Treaty of Deogaon by which he lost the Province of Cuttack and all his territories to the West of the River Wardha, bound himself not to take any European in his service without the consent of the British, and agreed to submit any dispute with any ally of the British to the arbitration of the British.

The treaty of Deogaon however did not provide for the establishment of a subsidiary force in the Nagpur State. Accordingly Wellesley endeavoured to induce the Bhonsla to enter into a subsidiary alliance.

Despatch from Major General Arthur Wellesley, to the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone, Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla, dated 24th December 1803.

When Elphinstone was appointed Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla after the Treaty of Deogaon Major General Arthur Wellesley wrote to him as follows:—"A principal object of your attention on your arrival in the Camp of the Rajah of Berar should be to endeavour to convince him of the sincere desire of the British Government to consolidate the peace. If he should make any propositions in the conferences during the negotiations to draw more closely the alliance between the two Governments, you will encourage him to speak plainly upon the subject; apprizing him that all governments must consider their own interests in such a case and unless bound by previous engagements it might be possible that to give him assistance in the moment of danger might be inconsistent with those of the British Govern-

ment. On this ground you will urge to the Rajah the necessity of providing by previous engagements for the support and assistance of the British Government." At the same time Wellesley warned the Resident against the treachery of the Rajah, suggested "Constant personal intercourse with the Ministers of Raghuji Bhonsla's Darbar and advised him to take special measure to be accurately informed of all that took place at the Darbar particularly with the emissaries of Holkar and Sindhia".

Despatch from Elphinstone, to the Marquess of Wellesley, dated 30th January 1805.

The Raja however could not be induced to apply to the English for a subsidiary force. He replied "that he was aware of the dangers pointed out, that he trusted he should himself be able to repel any attacks of Pindaris or petty free-booters and if he should be in danger from any chiefs of greater strength he trusted to the friendship and protection of the British Government." Elphinstone reporting the results of his efforts to the Governor General said "I regret that my endeavours to accomplish your Lordship's wishes have been attended with such little success".

Despatch from Marquess of Wellesley, Governor General, to Elphinstone, dated 4th March 1805.

Wellesley in his despatch to the Resident, dated 4th March 1805, stated "Under the circumstances of the Rajah's apparent disinclination to receive a subsidiary force at the present moment the Governor General does not deem it to be advisable to urge his Highness further on that point". And Elphinstone was instructed "to refrain from further agitation unless it should be revived by the Rajah himself".

After Wellesley's departure the East India Company reverted to the policy of non-intervention. "The advance made in the period of Wellesley had been much too rapid for the Directors and the Home Government. Wellesley's successors came out with strict injunctions to make no further acquisition of territory and to abstain from assuming new responsibilities in relation to native States. Peace was made with Holkar, and Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow pledged the British Government not to make any treaties with States over which the Marathas had any claim. Accordingly no efforts were made to revive the proposal to establish a subsidiary alliance with the Bhonsla till towards the close of Lord Minto's administration." The awful anarchy in Rajputana and Central India resulting from the refusal of the British Government to assert itself as the paramount Power raged unchecked or almost unchecked from 1805 to the close of the Lord Minto's administration", but Lord Minto did not feel himself at liberty to take strong measures for the extermination of the Pathan Pindari menace, though he made a military demonstration to warn off Amir Khan the Pathan leader of Banditti from invading Nagpur.

Despatch from Jenkins, Resident at the Bhonsla's Court, to Lord Minto, dated 31st August 1812.

The despatch of the Resident Mr. Jenkins to the Governor General Lord Minto dated 31st August 1812, throws light on the Bhonsla's view of an alliance with the British. "The invasion by the Pindaries of the Company's territories made the Rajah think that we should now change places with him in anxiety for the alliance and that as we should put down the Pindaries for our own sake he might have the benefit of our exertions without any sacrifice of his independence. That such has been the Rajah's view of the subject of the formerly desired alliance I have heard from more than one source of intelligence upon which I can depend".

This means that while the Rajah was anxious in his hour of danger for an alliance with the British he was however unwilling to enter into a subsidiary alliance which would make him completely subordinate to the British.

Despatch from Lord Minto, to Jenkins, dated 23rd October 1812.

A despatch from Lord Minto to the Resident dated 23rd October 1812, confirms the view taken by the Resident of the disposition of the Rajah towards the British. With reference to the removal of one of his Ministers Jaswant Rao Ramchandra and the appointment in his place of Bugaji Pandit who was the Rajah's Vakil at Calcutta just prior to the outbreak of the Second Maratha War, Lord Minto wrote "It affords a strong confirmation of the prevalence of that unfriendly spirit on the part of the Rajah and would tend to relax the bonds of amicable connection between the two states". Lord Minto however wrote to the Rajah "with a view to remove from the Raja's mind those erroneous notions which appear to have biassed his disposition and his conduct by depriving him of the expectation of being able to command the assistance of our power whenever a sense of proximate danger may induce him to solicit it either in the form of a subsidiary alliance or in the manner in which it was gratuitously afforded when the invasion of Amir Khan exposed his dominion to the danger of destruction". Lord Minto also wrote that the Rajah "had nothing to gain but everything to fear from a perseverance in his present mistaken course of policy and no reason to apprehend from a resumption of an amicable disposition consequences unfavourable to the independence of his dominions".

Despatch from the Governor General, Lord Minto, to the Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla, dated 2nd April 1813.

The Pathan Pindari menace had now become very alarming and Lord Minto was anxious to get the Bhonsla to enter into subsidiary alliance and the despatch of the Governor General to the Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla, dated 2nd April 1813, states "the tenor of some passages of the Raja's letter in reply to His Lordship's of the 23rd October appears to afford a favourable opportunity of reverting to the subject of the former negotiations

for a subsidiary alliance thus giving an opportunity for a renewal of the question ". The efforts of the Resident however to induce the Bhonsla to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the English were again unsuccessful and on 25th April 1813 the Resident wrote to the Governor General.

Despatch from Jenkins, Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla, to the Governor General, Lord Minto, dated 25th April 1813.

"The Rajah had received the proposals (for a subsidiary alliance) without showing any disposition to take advantage of it at the moment; nor had the subject been renewed, and that the Minister concluded from thence that the Rajah had at present no thoughts of entering upon the negotiations however advantageous its conclusions promised to be to Highness's State ". He continues, "Jaswant Rao said the Naroba told him that the Rajah said he would turn Fakeer if the subject were pressed upon him ".

Despatch from the Earl of Moira, Governor General, to Jenkins, dated 11th February 1814.

No indication of any disposition on the part of the Rajah to enter into a subsidiary alliance could be observed in the beginning of 1814 and the despatch of the Governor General with reference to the Resident's letter reporting the proceedings on the occasion of presenting to the Rajah of Nagpur a letter from Lord Minto states:—

"The reserve maintained by the Rajah on the subject of the projected alliance when so fair an opportunity was offered to him of recurring to it and if he had been so inclined, manifested his continued aversion to form a closer connection with the British Government even at a time when he may be reasonably supposed to entertain apprehensions of a serious attack on his territory and perhaps on the independence of the Nagpur State by Mir Khan and the Pindaries ". "The great increasing importance however of establishing a British Force on the frontier of the Rajah's territory and of obtaining the command of the Military resources of his country and Government for purposes of general defence will induce His Excellency in Council to overlook the temporary imperfection of an alliance originating on the side of one of the contracting parties in feeling so much at variance with the true principles on which it should be framed and His Excellency therefore continues to retain his willingness to meet any overtures from the Rajah to revise the negotiations ".

The situation at this time was very serious. Lord Hastings has written in his private diary, 1st February 1814, "The whole of the District between the Hoogly and Raghuji Bhonsla's territory is totally devoid of troops and unprotected. None can be spared to it from the pressing demands of other quarters. Yet it is from that frontier of the Rajah of Berar that an incursion of Pindaries who would find no opposition in traversing part of his dominions is most likely to be made into our richest provinces".

Despatch from Jenkins, to the Governor General, dated 23rd March 1814.

At this time there were alarming reports that Amir Khan was preparing to invade Nagpur and on 23rd March 1814 Jenkins wrote to the Governor General " Reports of the designs of Meer Khan to renew his attacks have appeared to force themselves on the belief of the Rajah. Jaswantrao told me that the Rajah had lately consulted with his ministers about the best means of warding off the impending danger. Some advised the raising of more troops to endeavour to get the aid of Baptiste to send a Vakil to Holkar—to try what could be done by negotiations. Shreedur Pandit pointed out the folly of this and told the Rajah ' His only hope was in the protection of the British Government.' This Counsel Jaswantrao informed me had displeased the Rajah and caused temporary coolness between him and his minister. In the meantime the other advice was at present likely to be acted upon."

Despatch from Jenkins, to the Governor General, dated 20th April 1814.

On 20th April 1814 the Resident wrote to the Governor General " An application to the British Government is I understand under discussion and I hope the expense of making his own arrangements may move the Rajah to apply to the British ". Jaswantrao, one of Rajah's Ministers, was reported to be making great efforts to bring the Rajah to seek the aid of the British but the Resident also adds " His Highness is represented to be extremely jealous of the agitation on this subject by the Minister ".

Despatch from Resident Jenkins, to Wauchope, British Political Agent, Bundelkhand, dated 10th May 1814.

But the hopes that were raised that the fear of an invasion by Meer Khan would lead the Rajah to seek an alliance with the British were again doomed to failure for on 10th May 1814 the Resident wrote to Wauchope, Political Agent, Bundelkhand " The alarm which some time ago prevailed about Meer Khan has considerably subsided ".

Despatch from Jenkins, to Governor General, dated 13th May 1814.

On the 13th May 1814 Jenkins wrote to the Governor General " The state of affairs has undergone an alteration not favourable to the immediate accomplishment of Your Excellency's views at this Court. The question of applying for British aid has been just dropped in consequence of communications from the Rajah's agents at Poona in Sindhia's Camp which quieted all His Highness's apprehensions from Mir Khan ". The Peshwa had ordered Holkar to deter Mir Khan from attacking Nagpur. From Sindhia's Camp the Rajah had received assurances that Baptiste who had been nominated to command against the Pindaries would co-operate with His Highness's forces against Mir Khan should he dare to attempt anything against Nagpur. Narain Pandit said " it could not be concealed that the bias of His Highness's

mind was so adverse to an alliance with the British Government as to lead him on all occasions to catch at anything which fell in with his own wishes and sentiments on that subject."

The correspondence referred to above clearly indicates the extreme reluctance of the Bhonsla Raghujii II to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the British and points out to the intervention of the Peshwa to prevent Mir Khan's attack on Nagpur and foreshadows the renewal of the confederacy of the Maratha Chiefs against the British which afterwards led to the Maratha War of 1817-18.

The situation described above continued unchanged till the death of Raghujii II which took place on 22nd March 1816.

The death of Raghujii however seemed to create a situation which would be favourable to the long cherished desire of the British to establish a subsidiary alliance with the Nagpur State.

Despatch from Jenkins, to Governor General, dated 25th March 1816.

The successor of Raghujii II Raja Poorsojee Bhonsla was blind and almost an imbecile. Appa Saheb, the cousin of the Rajah, who in the event of the Rajah's death would have succeeded to the Musnud, as the Rajah had no children, aspired to be the Regent. But there were serious obstacles in the way of Appa Saheb. The favourite wife of the late Rajah wanted to get control of the State and to exclude Appa Saheb from the Regency and with the support of Dharmaji Bhonsla and Goojaba, a cousin of the Rajah, who aimed at supplanting Appa Saheb sought to deprive Appa Saheb of the Regency. Appa Saheb accordingly leant towards the British and on 25th March 1816 Jenkins wrote to the Governor General "It would be premature to offer any decided opinion on the effects with regard to our interest at the Court likely to arise out of the present state of things but I may venture to say that we are much more likely now to succeed in the negotiations of a subsidiary treaty if that is still thought desirable than we ever should have been had the late Rajah continued to fill the Musnud".

Despatch from Jenkins, to Governor General, dated 29th March 1816.

The Resident favoured supporting Appa Saheb and on 29th March 1816 wrote "The sooner we conclude the treaty the better terms we are likely to obtain".

Despatches from Jenkins, to Governor General, dated 2nd April 1816 and 5th April 1816.

Appa Saheb desired the Resident to interfere and offered to sign an agreement to subsidize a body of British troops if the British supported his claim to the Regency.

Despatch from Governor General, to Jenkins, dated 13th April 1816.

On 13th April 1816 the Governor General wrote to the Resident "The importance to our interests of forming an alliance with the State of Nagpur on the terms already in your possession appears to the Governor General not only not diminished but eminently increased."

After this Appa Saheb was appointed Regent and at last the State of Nagpur entered into the Subsidiary Alliance.

It was the fear that he would be outdone by the party which opposed him that led Appa Saheb to solicit the aid of the British. Thus after 12 years the desire of the British to establish a subsidiary alliance with the Bhonsla Rajah of Nagpur was at last fulfilled.

A Note on some of the Berar Exhibits displayed at the Exhibition of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Nagpur.

(By S. Md. Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.)

The object of this paper is to give an idea of what has been acquired and what could have been acquired had sufficient time been given for the collection of exhibits.

Persian, Arabic and Urdu manuscripts have come for the most part from the old fashioned libraries of Khan Bahadur Syed Azmat Hussain, Khatib of Ellichpur, and Kazi Karam Mohiuddin of the same place. There is a bigger, better and an older collection of manuscripts in Balapur in the possession of Maulvi Syed Imam ul Islam of the Naqshbandi Khanqah, but nothing has been got from there because the Maulvi Saheb had gone to Hyderabad.

Eight copies of the Holy Quran of various shapes and sizes have been acquired from different places.

1. One rectangular Himayal. Size $2'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$,—554 pages, with an average of 20 lines to a page, bears a short note on two pages by one Abdullah in 900 A. H., which throws some light upon its age. He writes that he has heard from Nawab Asad Khan that the general belief is that this Himayal had been read by Imam Hasan-i-Askari. If this be taken as a fact then the Himayal must have been written before 260 A. H. (probable age 1087 years). It is worm-eaten; written in Kufic character.

2. One circular Himayal, with a diameter of $1\frac{1}{2}''$, has tattered loose leaves, with the text written in octagons. Gold and red ink have been used for pauses. Atmospheric conditions seem to have done much harm to it, which is greatly honoured as a family relic.

3. **Quran-i-Sharif.** Size $9'' \times 5''$, 776 pages, with 11 lines to a page, bears the date 1074 A. H. The beauty in the writing of this copy lies in this that the letters (and in some cases words and phrases) which come in the beginning of the top five lines occur in the reverse order in the bottom five lines in red ink; i.e., lines 1 and 11, 2 and 10, 3 and 9, 4 and 8, 5 and 7 begin with the same letter.

4. **Himayal.** Size $8'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$, 1022 pages, with 11 lines to a page, contains a few pages written and added to supply the missing ones towards the end. The beauty of this lies in this that the first, sixth and eleventh lines have been written in bold hand, while the rest of the lines are in small hand. Unfortunately, the name of the writer has been erased, its first two pages are well designed and decorated. It is generally called Himayal-i-Musallar.

5. **Quran-i-Sharif**, with Persian translation in red ink between the lines, has a big size $13'' \times 10''$. It has 938 pages, with 9 lines to a page, worn out margins have been replaced. The paper has become brown. It has been written in a very beautiful hand, and bears no date.

6. **Quran-i-Sharif** from Patur, has a size of $10'' \times 6''$, with 11 lines to a page. Pauses are in gold. It has Persian translation with marginal notes. At the end, the year given is 23, which must be the year of the Coronation of some Moghal King.

7. **Quran-i-Sharif**, with *Falnama* in Persian, size $14'' \times 11''$, pages 620. This is a very costly and luxurious volume. The whole book is a specimen of design and art in gold and blue. The first six and the last seven pages have been very beautifully and artistically designed. The last four pages contain the *Falnama* in Persian verse. It appears to belong to the early Moghal period.

8. **Quran-i-Sharif** belonging to Syed Mahmood Qadiri, has only 60 pages, i.e., one para. comes to an end on one leaf only. It has a big size, with 54 lines to a page. The peculiarity in the writing of this copy lies in the fact that every line begins with an Alif. This beginning Alif, the word "Allah" and "Bismillah-ir-Rahman-ir-Rahim" are in red ink. Every page has three gold spots of big size in the margin, one at the top, the other at the bottom and the third in the middle. This is the first time that this copy has left Balapur since the time it was brought into India in the time of Jahangir by Syed Mahmood. It is believed that this copy has been written by Imam Abu Hanifa himself. If this be accepted, the copy must have been written when the Abbasids were at the zenith of their prosperity.

A copy of *Sahib-ul-Bukhari*, Vol. II, has been found. Size $13'' \times 9''$. There is a note which says that it was purchased in 1117 A. H.

There are three commentaries on the Quran:

Tafsir-i-Baizavi, Vol. II, incomplete. Size $10'' \times 6''$, pages 512. It is in a very much tattered condition. It was written by Shah Muhammad Ibrahim in 951 A. H.

Tafsir-i-Husaini. Size 9" × 5", pages 1396, with 27 lines to a page with gold margin. Quranic text is in red ink with Persian commentary in Arabic hand. The manuscript was written by Daulat (Dost)? Muhammed, son of Muhammad Fath Ahmad-abadi, in 1054 A. H.

Jawahir-ut-Tafsir (in Persian). Size 14" × 9". The whole book is in Arabic character, the text in red and the commentary in black ink. The first two pages and the headings of the Suras have been richly decorated in gold. It was finished in 977 A. H.

The following books are on Islamic jurisprudence and law:—

Jama-ur-Rumooz. In Arabic. Size 12" × 7½", pages 674. 26 lines to a page. Dated 941 A. H.

Fatawa (incomplete and tattered). Arabic-Persian. The book has been written in Arabic character.

Fatawa-i-Saeed Khani, Vol. I. Size 12" × 7", pages 1050. Written in Saudabad by Abdul Karim, son of Mulla Ali, by the order of Nawab Muhd. Saeed Khan in 998 A. H.

The following are in Persian Poetry:—

Masnavi of Maulana Rum. Size 12" × 8", pages 590, with 25 verses to a page, and four hemistichs to a line. Appear to be very old.

Hadiqatul Haqiqat of Hakim Sanai. Size 10" × 5", page 622, with 17 verses to a page. Written in a beautiful hand.

Diwan-i-Hafiz. Appears to be a selection. Size 10½" × 5½", pages 344, with 13 verses to a page. First two pages and headings in gold. Written in beautiful hand.

Subhatul Ahrar of Jami. Size 9" × 5", pages 270, with 12 verses to a page. Margin and headings of chapters are in gold. There are very beautiful coloured illustrations on pages 49, 128, 147, 173 and 205. Beautiful handwriting.

Persian prose works dealing with literature, philosophy, biography and history—

Latif-ul-Masnavi. Commentary of the Masnavi. Size 10" × 5", 312 pages, with 29 lines to a page. Its language is Persian but has been written in Arabic character. It was completed in Rajab; but the year is not clear.

Mirsad-ul-Ibad. Size 9" × 5", with 546 pages, 15 lines to a page. Written by Jalali in 985 A. H.

Anwar-i-Suhaili. Size 16" × 9", pages 380. It was written in Karanja (Berar) in 942 A. H.

Singhasan Battisi. Only 64 tattered leaves have been discovered, profusely illustrated in colour.

Manakib-ul-Arifeen. Appears to be incomplete towards the end. Size 9" × 6", pages 602, written in 710 A. H.

Tarikh-i-Amjadi. Foolscap size, pages 733, completed in 1287 A. H. The Resident of Hyderabad presented to the Author a sum of Rs. 250 for encouragement. It requires a careful revision and then we shall have a good History of Berar. It has been translated in Urdu also by the Author himself.

Akhbar Namai Haft Kishwar. Size 16" × 10", pages 286. It is an encyclopædia of current events in India. It commences from the 15th Zika'da 1239 A. H. and closes on Monday the 7th Shaban 1240 A. H. Munshi Hashmat Rai has written it by the order of Nawab Namdar Khan Pani of Ellichpur. A few typical passages here will not be out of place.

On page 34—"Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sikh, having called foreign Muslim expert blacksmiths made one thousand field guns. Having used and tested them, he has placed them facing the Shahpur Camp on the Bank of the Sutlej at a distance of 12 koses from the victorious army of the Company. Six battalions have been stationed there."

On page 72—General Sir John Malcolm having taken permission from the Shah of Persia has gone to the Court of the Arah King in Islamic clothes along with presents and letters from England and Calcutta. After four months' stay he will return.

On page 69—The kingdom of the Raja is called Gor Bangala in Hindi and Assam in Persian. The Raja is a descendant of Raja Gopi Chand of old. He is an agnostic, and does not believe in Hinduism and Islam. Agnostics get their ears bored.

On page 68—News from Nepal—Kajai Amar Singh, the agent of the Raja of Nepal, went to the Raja of Assam along with the company of the zamindars of Nepal on the bank of the river Vishnumati. The British companies followed him at a tremendous rate for a night attack upon him but he escaped and reached the Raja of Assam.

On page 110—The Greeks have now gained in strength and influence, and a better future is in store for them. Lord Byron and Colonel Ashton Hope did their utmost to help the Greeks. By the death of Byron, the Greeks lost a great friend. Now Colonel Hope is organizing and training the Greek army. It appears that the Greeks have taken a loan of a lac of rupees from the British Government. French, German and British officers have been imported to remodel the Greek army. The clash with the Egyptian army is imminent. There was a rumour that Ibrahim Pasha will set sail with 30,000 men on 23rd June to fight the Greeks. The result is uncertain but if the Greeks win they will greatly improve their State.

On page 123—Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhya remained in Gwalior up to the 14th zi-Hijja. One day the application of Mr. Jacom (?) was received. It said that the Maharaja had ordered the break up of the battalion of Rustum Ali Khan. He recommended that as the Khan was clever and experienced, his faults should be forgiven.

On page 143—One day Maharaja Mulhar Rao Holkar went to see Lord Wellesley and presented him a telescope (field glasses). On his way back,

a Brahmin expressed to him his inability to meet the marriage expenses of his daughter. The Maharaja gave him Rs. 50.

On page 216—News has been received that a new Governor General has been appointed. The officers went to receive him. On his arrival there was the salute of 19 gun fires. After this, Mr. Metcalf, the ex-Governor General, left the place.

On page 249—For punishing Surajmal Jat two British battalions with 6 guns and two regiments of cavalry left Shah-Jahanabad for Bikanir.

On page 266—A party of Gosains and Bairagies went on a pilgrimage to Hardware. After a short stay there they again wanted to start. The officer-in-charge asked them to give the name of their destination. All said that they wanted to go to Kashi. The chaprasies asked them to leave their weapons behind; and they would be returned to them on arrival. They said that they were only faqirs and did not like to fight with anybody. The officer-in-charge himself came out and said that the faqirs should not carry any weapon along with them. The fight took place between the Company's soldiers and the Bairagies and in the beginning two battalions of the British were swept away. Then the cannon were used and the Bairagies were broken and shattered. Only a hundred were saved. The officer-in-charge bound them in chains and set them to work as labourers.

Shamsud Akhbar. Size 18" × 11", pages 370. Commences from the 27th Shaban 1240 A. H. and ends on the 8th Jamad-ul-Awwul 1243 A. H. The nature of its contents is the same as that of the above.

Akhbar-i-Khushki wa Tari. Big size, pages 1192. This big leather bound volume was discovered by me in a Sowcar's shop where it was mortgaged for Rs. 598. It commences from the 25th Shawwal 1257 A. H., and closes on Thursday the 17th Shaban 1259 A. H. This book has a concluding line which says that the news from the 18th Shaban have been written on another book which contains 473 leaves. In nature it is the same as the two books that have gone before.

Tarikh-i-Chiragh-i-Berar. Foolscap size, 965 pages. It is the Urdu translation of the Tarikh-i-Amjadi and has not been published as yet.

Jumma. Size 7" × 4½". Some prayers have been added on lately. The Jumma proper is very richly decorated in gold. The handwriting is very beautiful. There are 9 lines to a page. Marginal notes in Arabic have also been attached. The book was written by Mahmud at the command of Aurangzeb.

Risalai Qutbiya. Size 8" × 4½", 40 pages, 9 lines to a page. Written by Muhammad Ali, son of Nurullah-al-Husaini, in 1025 A. H. in Persian character as a present to Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah.

Badr-i-Munir—(Urdu), very richly decorated and illustrated. Handwriting very beautiful. Only a few pages have been available.

Diwan-i-General. 320 pages, the poetical works of Nawab Namdar Khan. **Pani of Ellichpur.** Dated 1231 A. H. 12 Waslies and handdrawn pictures—give an idea of calligraphy and drawing. An old account book of 118 years.

Firmans of—

Jahangir granting Lasoorā to Mahmud Qadiri.

Shah Jahan granting Lasoorā to Mahmud Qadiri.

Shah Jahan granting Jalgaon to Bibi Jan.

Aurangzeb granting Chitoora, etc., to Safiullah Qadiri.

Bahadur Shah granting Amkipur, etc., to Safiullah Qadiri.

Sanads with the seal of Yousuf Turk Ulgh-i-Azam. Appears to belong to the Tughlaq period.

Sanad to Nizam Ali Khan Asad Jung in 1169 A. H. for the Subedarship of Berar. Besprinkled with gold and silver.

Application of Saheb-un-Nisa Begum, wife of Mukhlis Ali Khan, for help and grant in her widowhood.

Tajwiz—

for “Khan-ship” to Mukhlis Ali.

for the title of “Kayam Jung” to Wajid Ali Khan, 1170 A. H.

for the title of “Kayam-ud-Daula” to Wajid Ali Khan.

All of these are on paper besprinkled with gold and silver.

Photographs.—Taken by Mr. C. K. Seaman, I.C.S.,—gives an idea of the place and the house where the Treaty of Surji Anjangaon was signed in 1803. Of the old Garhi only one wall has remained. The wooden work has been removed inwards now and a new hall has been made out of the old material.

Paintings on glass in colour—

(1) A Prince.

(2) A young lady.

(3) Bezan.

(4) An old saint.

All these paintings appear to be very old, and please every eye that sees them. A fine work of Art.

Cloth—

Tunban—a full length Mushroo gold laid trousers. A smaller edition of this is used in many families. A family relic.

Jazim—27' × 9'—beautiful and artistic silk embroidery. It was auctioned by the Bikanir Court.

Khilat—with Sarpech, Kamarband and Iba—was presented to Syed Muhammad, the ancestor of the Khatibs of Ellichpur.

Tattered garment—The ancestor of the Kazi of Ellichpur, Sadi Saheb, was murdered by his slave in the Mosque of the Gawilgarh fort. Only a few patches of the garment have remained to remind us of the venerable Kazi.

Seals.—Three small and one big betel leaf shaped seal—all belong to the Qudiri family of Balapur. Very artistic designs.

Kulfi or Hukka.—There are five with curious designs. In the cocoanut shaped one, wire has been beaten into designs that are very difficult and beautiful. In others silver has been beaten in various shapes.

Betel leaf and nut dishes are also very beautiful. This industry is being revived in Bidar, Hyderabad (Deccan), now-a-days.

There is a heap of swords to show the quality of the steel. Gold has been beaten in the blade and the hilt in a few of them. One has a dragon headed hilt. Some of them are very flexible and one of them has a double tongue and an undulating edge. There are engravings on both the sides of the blade and now many stories have grown round about this sword. Nimchas also have been acquired.

There are many daggers and katars and churas also of various shapes and sizes and better quality of steel. One of the churas belongs to Nawa Namdar Khan Pani. Almost all of them are family relics and are being very carefully preserved.

By seeing all these things and the card board Kalamdan, Asa with gupti (pointed sword) inside, surahi, inkpot with pen cases, China plate, pistol, sand-glass, spears of curious makes, shield and the chain armour and helmet of Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan Pani, the first Nawab and the builder of the stone wall round about the city of Ellichpur, we feel great appreciation for the art and industry of the past which in spite of its silence speaks with greater force and fluency than the chattering present. With all these exhibits in front of our eyes we forget the considerations of time and space, when these missing links are found out, the connection between the present and the past becomes more intimate and with our increased zeal and interest we come to realize that after all history repeats itself and we are the sole inheritors of the past.

An Unpublished Correspondence between Vyankoji Bhosla and Daulatrao Sindhia.

(By Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B.)

After the battle of Assaye, Adagaon and Gavilgad in 1803, peace was concluded between the British and Raghoji Bhosla II. This peace was faithfully maintained by Raghoji, in spite of occasional influence brought upon him by Daulatrao Sindhia and Yeshawantrao Holkar. Emissaries were

sent to the court of Nagpur, the Pindharies were encouraged to plunder Nagpur territory, in order to drag Raghoji into the combination against the English. A phase of these transactions was the Sindhia's attempt to win over Vyankoji, brother of Raghoji, to his side. The following abstract of the original correspondence, yet unpublished, will show how the attempt eventually failed.

Vyankoji Maya Bapu, or Nanasahib, as he was commonly called, held the title of Sena Dhurandhar, which was an appanage of the junior branch of the Bhosla family and as such he had the control of Chanda and Chhattisgarh. The private relations between these brothers were never cordial though both tried to keep up appearances of friendliness. Vyankoji was always of a turbulent nature, while cautiousness, perhaps, over-cautiousness was the dominant part of Raghoji's nature. Raghoji was careful to keep up the good relations with the English, being sure of the consequences that would follow in case of hostilities with them, and having little faith in the consistency of Sindhia and Holkar. Vyankoji's incursions into the territories of the Nizam and his military activities in Chhattisgarh led the resident Mr. Elphinstone to send an ultimatum to Raghoji threatening that he would leave Nagpur and declare war upon Raghoji, if Vyankoji was not confined and his Jahagirs confiscated. Raghoji had to obey the Resident and it was after some time that Vyankoji was allowed to be set at liberty. An active participation by a man of Raghoji's type with the activities of Sindhia and Holkar was thus unlikely and Sindhia therefore centred his efforts on Vyankoji who was, as he knew, dissatisfied, both with his brother Raghoji, as well as with the English. Vyankoji's influence in Nagpur, in general and Chanda and Sambalpur, in particular, and the delicacy of his relationship with the Raja were a valuable asset, in case Vyankoji was won over and the clever eye of Daulatrao Sindhia was not slow to perceive this. He therefore decided to work upon these factors. The emissaries who were deputed for this purpose were Balaji Yeshvant and Atmaram Shivaram. The following correspondence is mainly with the latter gentleman and is available in original. Atmaram Shivaram or Atmaram Pandit, as the Marquess of Hastings calls him in his private journal, hailed from Ahmadnagar and was the agent of a big banker of those days namely Balwantrao Wakade of Wai, who had a branch of his bank at Gwalior. Atmaram's surname was Tamboli (*i.e.*, which in Marathi means a pan-leaf-seller but the family was a Brahmin family) but by his long association with the Wakade bank, his original surname was forgotten and he was widely known as Atmaram Wakade. Atmaram himself rose to be a great banker and often supplied big sums to Sindhia, who was always in need of money like most of the Indian powers in those days. Atmaram's chief place of business was in Benares. His descendants still reside at Gwalior. Balaji and Atmaram remained at Nagpur and proposed to Vyankoji to go over to Sindhia at Gwalior and promises were held out to him that he would be entertained there in Sindhia's service, as commander of 1,000 horse and would be given an income becoming his dignity and office. He was to bring his own horse-men from Nagpur.

Atmaram was in Benares where Vyankoji sent him letters and called him to Nagpur for settling the matter personally. The whole affair was to be managed without the knowledge of Raghoji, and it was therefore arranged that Atmaram should first go to Sambalpur where Vyankoji's officer Keso Govind was ordered to look to his comforts. Thence Atmaram was to go over to Chanda directly and Vyankoji was also to go to Chanda from Nagpur, on the pretext of supervision of that province. Eventually after long delays on account of Raghoji's indifferent health and marriage of Raghoji's daughter Salabai—who was married to Kanhojirao Mohite in 1805, Vyankoji could not go to Chanda and Atmaram had to come over to Nagpur where he stayed for a long time. Vyankoji did not like to go against the wishes of his brother and thus bring on open hostilities with him and he was thus seeking an opportunity of securing his consent to this step. Vyankoji even sent drafts of letters, which the Sindhia was asked to send to Raghoji and hoped that he would be able to secure Raghoji's permission on the representations made in those letters. It seems that the letters were sent as required but were not sufficient to delude Raghoji. Atmaram was not idle while these delays were going on. Sindhia was in great need of money as already stated and Atmaram induced two of the biggest bankers of Nagpur of those days—Vyankoji Naik Pidadi and Madhoji Naik Kale—to open branches at Gwalior. Raghoji was hard in his money dealings and Madhoji Naik is referred to as dissatisfied with the Bhoslas. Pidadi had large balances against Vinayakrao of Saugar and hoped to realise his sums through the influence of Sindhia in the Northern territories. Both these bankers opened branches at Gwalior. Pidadi has now lost all but name and is hardly heard of. Madhoji Naik Kale's descendants are in good circumstances and are living at Benares and Nagpur, and are known in Nagpur as Nagar Naiks. Vyankoji was not the only man whom Atmaram tried to seduce but he actually worked upon Gujaba Gujar—son of Thakabi, sister of Raghoji—to go over to Sindhia. Gujaba who was also dissatisfied with Raghoji actually went to Gwalior and remained in the service of Sindhia. It was he who after Appasaheb's deposition formed the regency with the famous Bakabai during the minority of Raghuji III.

It was also planned as mentioned in one of the letters, that Sindhia and Holkar should continue to fight with the English in the North and that Sindhia should send Pindharies in the Eastern territories. Vyankoji promised to send one General to Bengal to fight against the English and an order was despatched by Sindhia to his General to co-operate with Vyankoji's chief. This was intended to engage the British army in Bengal and open hostilities with the English simultaneously in Central India. These also did not materialise to any appreciable extent as a check was put upon Vyankoji's activities when he created some trouble in Sambalpur as already mentioned.

Under instructions from his master, Atmaram was levying troops in the Nagpur territory to serve Sindhia and this correspondence is contained in one of those letters. Most of this correspondence began in 1804 A. D. and ended in 1807.

The agreement reached with Sindhia through Atmaram was that Vyankoji should bring 1,000 cavalry duly equipped, for which and for his own expenses Sindhia should give him some territory in service Jahagir. Vyankoji's own expenses were calculated at Rs. 24,000 a year while those of the troops at Rs. 300 per year for every horseman or three lacs for all cavalry. The Jahagir proposed was out of the Sindhia's half share in the territory of the Nawab of Bhopal captured by Sindhia and Bhosla and divided half and half by them.

These manifold activities did not remain secret very long. They were discovered by Raghoji and both Atmaram Shivaram and Balaji Yeshvant, when they were setting off for Gwalior after fulfilling their mission, were detained by Raghoji. Vyankoji had managed to go to Chanda on some pretext and was thence to go to Gwalior directly and Atmaram and Balaji were to join him on the way.

The detention of Balaji and Atmaram effectively put a stop to the flight of Vyankoji and the letter written by Daulatrao Sindhia to Raghoji's minister—Shridhar Laxman Munshi, the chief minister, is very interesting. Daulatrao says that he was surprised to see his men detained without any apparent cause and hints that some wrong adverse impression was created in the mind of Raghoji, which he asks the Munshi to remove. He denies all knowledge about any conspiracy with Vyankoji but suggests that it might be the misguided activities of his father-in-law Sarjerao Bapu Ghatge, who he avers, had in a recent talk passingly referred to the expected arrival of Vyankoji at Gwalior, which was, according to Daulatrao, the only information he had on the point. Daulatrao beseeches the Munshi to remove the wrong impression thus created and also gives a friendly hint to Raghoji to condone the conduct of his younger brother and to reconcile him. He concludes with a request that his ministers be allowed to come back to Gwalior immediately. A similar letter was also sent to Raghoji directly and the two ministers were then allowed to go.

Atmaram was the man who subsequently negotiated on Sindhia's behalf, with the Resident at Gwalior and acceded to the terms of the Marquess of Hastings in 1817 for opening a joint campaign against the Pindharies. He is referred to by the Marquess of Hastings in his private journal of 11th October 1817.

Research of Unpublished Records throwing light on Political Social and mainly on the Economic History of Vidarbha during the Mahomedan Period.

(By M. D. Sathe, M.A., L.T.)

(I) *Scope for Search of Unpublished Records.*

Uptil now it appears that no efforts have been made by any historian to search for any records in Vidarbha. With what little experience we have in

searching for historical records of the Mahomedan rule which covers the period from the overthrow of the Yadavas of Deogiri to the cession of Berars to the British, we are convinced that there is a vast field for research for the material which is lying uncared for throughout the province. Such records can be traced in the old families of Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas, Kazis and Jahagirdars who have got the Vatan from the Mahomedan Emperors.

These records are lying in a neglected state inasmuch as the representatives of the families have no interest in them, and in many places the records have been lost for ever on account of their indifference. So it is a matter of urgency to make efforts to save the records from destruction by further neglect.

Some attempts have been made by the workers of the Shardashram and within the short period of the existence of the Institution, the workers have gained an experience that they would collect a great deal of unpublished records which will have bearing on the political, social, religious and economic history of the Province.

(II) *The Nature of Records.*

During the Mahomedan period, the Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas who were the officers of the Parganas were responsible to the Government for the recovery of Land Revenue from the villages under their jurisdiction. These Pargana officers usually engaged Moharirs to write the accounts. So the families of these Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas and at times those of Moharirs possess records of the financial statements of the Parganas.

Similarly Kazis of the Parganas were invested with the powers of civil and criminal justice; therefore it is possible to find amongst their records (which are mainly the decisions on disputed points) the history of social and other affairs.

The Jahagirdars and Inamdars who were awarded Jahagirs and Inams for some political services which they rendered to the then Government are expected to possess records throwing light on the political history of the period.

(III) *The Extent of the Records actually found from the sources mentioned above.*

(i) An original document of 945 Fasli, i.e., 1535 A.D

A statement of revenue of four villages of Darwah Pargana of Mahur Sarkar of Berar Subha. The four villages the revenue of which has been mentioned were a Jahagir of one Kamruddinkhan. It is mentioned in Takas. A Taka = $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee = 16 pice; 1 pice = 12 Rukas.

(ii) Another original document of 947 Fasli—1537 A.D.

A statement of revenue of 6 villages which were a Jahagir of one Rajah Pahadsingh in Darwah Pargana.

(iii) A copy of statement of remuneration of the Deshmukhs of Darwah Pargana in the year 1670 A.D.

The Pargana has 113 villages. It was divided among eight Deshmukhs belonging to separate families. They were Brahmins, Rajputs, Marathas and Mahomedans. The total amount distributed was 1,58,297 Takas. The statement gives the remuneration for each village against its name.

Another document of the same nature in the year 1677 A.D.

(iv) A copy of a letter from the court of Aurangzeb to one Abdul Rasul alias Isurji Rana, Deshmukh of Darwah Pargana in the year 1671 A.D.

It was an order to him to give his brother Krishnaji Rana his share as his remuneration. This order was the result of the complaint from his brother Krishnaji. These two brothers are said to belong to the same family of Rana of Udepur and one of them Isurji was converted to Islam for Vatan.

A copy of the partition-deed in pursuance of the above order. This was executed in the year 1673 A.D.

(v) Ek-Harfi or the Detailed Statement of the Pargana of Papal (in Modi) for the year 1680 A. D.

This statement gives the details of each village as to the revenue from various kinds of lands, such as ordinary or garden lands. It mentions how much land was reserved for grazing and how much was Inam. It mentions the distances of the headquarters of the Pargana from Aurangabad, Burhanpur, Ellichpur and Akot. Kashiram Ramji Deshpande mentioned in the statement is the ancestor of Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, one of the workers of Shardashram, Yeotmal.

Another statement of the same nature. It is original and is written in Persian as it will appear that each leaf of it bears the seal of Aurangzeb. In the seal the year 1095 Fasli has been mentioned. For want of mastery over Persian, the details of this statement cannot be given.

A copy of the statement in 1781 A.D.

It appears from this statement that the remuneration of the Deshmukhi Vatan of the Darwah Pargana was fixed as it did not change even after 120 years.

(vi) An original statement called "Sadarbandi" which is the statement of expenses for the Pargana in the year 1789 A.D. It was the time when Berar had "Do Amli" administration which began since about 1770 A.D. By this treaty between the Bhosla and the Nizam, Bhoslas were to get 60 per cent. and the Nizam the remaining 40 per cent. This statement shows the amount for feast to the Sena Saheb Subha and the balance after deducting the expenses was divided between the Bhosla and the Nizam half and half.

Conclusions arrived at from the above records.

These are some of the records collected by the Shardashram regarding finances of parganas.

It appears that the Pargana was the unit of administration and it was in existence at the end of the fifteenth century and remained as such till the

cession of Berar to the British. Another fact which is noticed is that the Pargana officers such as Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas held the posts which were hereditary. Since the rule of the Bahamani Kings, the administrative divisions of the Province such as Parganas, Sarkars and Subhas remained unchanged, though there were changes in the sovereign powers. Besides, it appears that the remuneration of the Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas remained unchanged for hundreds of years.

(IV) *Records showing Financial Crisis of the Peshwas before the Battle of Panipat in 1761.*

This fact has been corroborated by documents collected from different places.

(i) This is a sheet of account of the army of Vithal Sheodeo (Vinchurkar), a general of the Peshwa. This contains various items about the expenses in War. An important one is about an attack by Shrimant Dadasaheb Peshwa on a small fort of the Moguls; another shows how care of the wounded soldiers in the army was taken.

(ii) An original letter—as it bears in the seal the year 1172 Hizri and bears “Mortub Sud” and an autograph. The letter mentions that a loan of one lac of rupees was borrowed at Rs. 2 per cent. per mensem and for the repayment of the same one Chincholi Pargana was farmed out to the creditor. This bond is executed by one Shioji Keshao Bahadur, a general of the Peshwa.

(iii) An autograph of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa in 1755 A.D. It is written to the famous Sawkar Abaji Govind Gadre. It mentions that the revenue of three villages was farmed out for three years by Peshwa's general Vithal Shiodeo.

It appears from the above records that the generals of the army were always in need of money and that they were authorized to borrow loans from Sawkars and to farm out villages in satisfaction of the loan.

(V) *Stray Records.*

An autograph of Kanhoji Bhosla of Bham. Kanhoji was the uncle of Raghuji I and son of Parsoji Bhosla. After the death of Parsoji, Shahu delegated the powers of collecting Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi of Berar to Kanhoji. Now the army of Kanhoji troubled the subjects very much. It was due to the complaint of some Brahmins of Talegaon that Kanhoji issued an “Abhaya Patra”. The date of the letter is not given but it must be before 1731 when Kanhoji was removed by Shahu as the latter came into his disfavour.

(ii) An original letter by Ranisaheb of Darwah of the year 1738 which mentions that the rate of Juar became very dear, i.e., it reached to 2½ Takas for a Maund. Compare the rate with the present one after 190 years!

(VI) *Inscriptions.*

An inscription in Marathi on a stone found at Kalamb (Yeotmal District), but at present deposited in the Nagpur Museum.

The Persian inscription which was at the top of this stone appears to have been removed. It mentions the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah, King of Ahmadnagar in the year 1581 A.D. It appears to have been used to show the way to Nachangaon and Deoli villages.

In conclusion I must say that I have made an humble attempt to draw inferences from the documents noted above and which are open to inspection in the present exhibition. I have not gone through minor details as they are not likely to throw light on matters of general interest.

An Incident in the Relation of the Governor of Poonamallee with Fort St. George.

(By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S.)

The early history of Fort St. George is full of stirring incidents of various kinds and degrees of importance; one of them that is of particular interest is the administration of the settlement during the period of rule of the surrounding locality by a certain Governor of Golkonda, generally known in the Company's records as Brahmany Lingappa. Before we come to this particular incident, a very brief resumé of the history of Fort St. George would be necessary for the understanding of the incident.

The region in which Fort St. George is situated fell within the sphere of the operations of Golkonda under the arrangements come to between Golkonda and Bijapur after the defeat of the Vijayanagar armies in the battle of Talikota. The English had their trading settlements at Masulipatam and Armagam within the territory of Golkonda and the Dutch had their settlements at Pulicat. In the period of commercial rivalry and war between the Dutch and the English, the English found their position at Armagam uncomfortable as against the Dutch at Pulicat on the one side and even the Portuguese at San Thomé on the other. The position at Masulipatam itself did not ensure freedom to the Company's servants to the extent that they required it for their own as well as the Company's trade. Hence there was a general dissatisfaction with the position. By the constant efforts of Coggan and Day, they succeeded ultimately in securing possession of a somewhat neglected piece of ground in the neighbourhood of what was called 'Madraspattanam', and a charter was apparently issued by the Vijayanagar Emperor, Venkata II, through the influence of the Governor of Kālahasti, Vengala or Venkata and his brother Aiya, sometimes called Aiyappa. This is the foundation of Fort St. George. This charter was lost and is not forthcoming even now, and the East India Company's Agents provided themselves with an efficient substitute for it by a renewal of the charter by Venkata's successor, Sriranga, the

last ruler of Vijayanagar. This was issued in 1645, and was written on a plate of gold. That constitutes the basis of the settlement.

There the settlement is clearly described as in the immediate neighbourhood of Madraspatam. It is there that the name Madraspatam occurs for the first time authoritatively. The reason for that particular name is still shrouded in obscurity, and what circumstances it is that gave the name to the locality is yet very far from clear. Another name of the Indian town is what occurs sometimes in the Company's records as Chinapatnam. This town owes its foundation to the family of Kālahasti chieftains whose representatives at the time were Venkata and Aiyappa referred to above. It is the second of these princes that built the town in the name of their father, Channappa with the special object of preventing the Dutch at Pulicat and the Portuguese at San Thomé from fighting against each other constantly by interposing a town belonging to the emperor between these two settlements of European trading companies.¹ This Channappa was ruler of Kālahasti, and his family and those of his relations, the Velugoti chiefs, played an important part in the history of the last days of Vijayanagar Empire. The town of Channapatnam therefore was an earlier foundation built by Aiyappa, son of Channappa, whose name figures as Aiyappendra in the account of a battle fought at Erode by a number of allies on behalf of the emperor, Sriranga, against Chickadevaraya Udaiyar of Mysore. Channapatnam therefore was an old town; Madraspatam seems to be a town or a part of this town with another name Madraspatnam; and it is in the immediate neighbourhood of it that the land was actually given to Coggan and Day to build their settlement.

In the Fort St. George records there is clear evidence of confusion between the one and the other, and sometimes they are spoken of together, sometimes the one is substituted for the other. But that they were two is kept up distinctly in the various charters, even in the charter obtained from the Nawab Neknam Khan in 1672. But this statement is put beyond a doubt by the statement of Butche Paupama, the great grand-daughter of this Channappa, ruler of Kālahasti. The letter is reproduced in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Volume I, page 347. She speaks of Channapatnam as having been built in the name of her grand-father's father. Col. Love makes a mistake that she was the grand-daughter, as she is described as the daughter of a Timmappa. There is a Timmappa among the sons and there is also a Timmappa among the grand-sons of Channappa. Her statement ought to be given preference in a case like this. That the town of Channapatnam was built by Aiyappa in the name of his father is again categorically stated in the report of the Brahmin Venkatapati, the Company's Agent at Golkonda, who wrote about it in January 1672.²

The charter that was granted by Sriranga had to be renewed again by the Nawab, Mir Jumla, when he became Nawab of the Golkonda Carnatic in the fifties, and subsequently by the Nawab Neknam Khan at the end of the

¹ Source Book of Vijayanagar History, Extracts 93 and 95.

² Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, page 346.

reign of the Kutub Shah Abdullah, and just before his successor, Abul Hasan, came to the throne. In all these charters the position of the town is defined and the privileges more or less fully enumerated. But the question of privileges was so worded as to admit of considerable doubt. The town was made free of customs for the goods of the Company. But as the town improved, the commercial activity of the settlement also improved, and with it naturally sea-going trade both by way of exports and imports. All the goods that came to it were not the Company's necessarily, and that provided one fruitful cause of dispute. Another was that the rent originally agreed upon was a comparatively small sum when the settlement was of no importance whatever as a commercial centre. But as its position improved, its finances naturally improved, and the imperial power of whom the Company held the town naturally also looked to improving their part of the share. Then there was the question of the surrounding people, who went and effected settlements in Fort St. George and within its limits. They consisted of artisans, and labourers of various kinds, spinners, weavers, dyers, etc., and contributed largely to the prosperity of the town. Their position in relation to the Company on the one side and their liege lord on the other was one of considerable delicacy. Then there was the question of intercourse, commercial intercourse in particular, between the town itself and the surrounding country in respect of supplies of the various daily requirements of the settlement. All these necessarily provided fruitful ground for quarrel and the disputes assumed more vigour or less as the governor of the surrounding locality happened to be a man of vigour as an administrator or an easy-going individual.

It is in this connection that we find the Tarafdar of Poonamallee, to which belonged Channapatnam and Fort St. George, figure prominently in the Company's transactions. When the last Kutub Shahi ruler, Abul Hasan succeeded to the throne, he appointed two Brahman brothers, Madanna and Akkanna, as the Dewan and the General Agent respectively. The Muhammadan Prime Minister died; and the Muhammadan Commander-in-Chief was dismissed, another Muhammadan in favour with the Brahman brothers taking his place. The Nawabship that was held by Mir Jumla became soon after the charge of Akkanna, Madanna continuing to be the chief Minister. As Abul Hasan is reputed to have given himself to a life of ease and enjoyment, the real power was in the hands of these brothers, who seem to have had a certain number of nephews of great talent. One of them figures in the records of the earlier transactions by name Rustam Rao. Similarly Lingappa figures in the records of the East India Company as the energetic Governor of Poonamallee, who tried to get from the Company at Fort St. George a due share of its revenues for the Government at Golkonda.

Akkanna and Madanna have been handed down to ill-fame because of the paucity of knowledge among historians.³ Even from what little is known

³ Even Professor Sarkar's *Aurangzeb* contains but little regarding them beyond the statement of Hawart. More is known of them even from the Company's records, which is naturally coloured by the prejudice against Lingappa.

of them, they seem to have been officers who conducted the administration on lines of efficiency, and served their masters' interests loyally. Of course, like the governors of these times, even including the public servants of the East India Company, they had a partiality for private gains, a feature from which knighted agents of the English Company were not free among the contemporaries of these. This defect notwithstanding, there is enough to show that the administration of Golkonda was more or less efficient and Aurangzeb found it a very difficult task to destroy the Sultanate ultimately.

In regard to Lingappa, the information that is available in the Company's records have been so interpreted that even historians have strayed away from their impartiality and committed themselves to verdicts which could not be accepted as altogether historical. The following extracts from Talboys Wheeler's History of Madras would illustrate our position:—

“ It will occasion but little surprise to learn that the spirited defence offered by Mr. Streynsham Master to the intrigues of a deceitful native like Lingappa, should have excited a strong opposition to his measures in the breasts of the Directors at home. Indeed we are sorry to say that the latter exhibited a meanness of spirit, which strongly contrasts with the volunteer movements of our own times; and they were perfectly willing that their servants in this country should succumb to every petty native chief who chose to insult them, or who endeavoured to worry them into sending peishcush.”⁴

The first part of the extract here refers to the high-handed doings of Streynsham Master, which the Company at home did not countenance and this dispute between the Company and its servant ended in the Company's ordering the retirement of their energetic Agent in Fort St. George. The dispute had reference to the rent due from Madras, Lingappa demanding, in view of the growth of the town and its revenues, a higher rent than the paltry one that was fixed upon to begin with, and the inclusion or otherwise of Triplicane in the settlement. When the Company refused to consider the question fairly from the point of view of Lingappa, he took such coercive measures as to stop the trade, the source of prosperity of the Company in the town. Streynsham Master took it into his hands to send out expeditions into the immediate neighbourhood, set fire to towns, burn and pillage villages, and even went the length of burning down the houses of the *Talayari*, the chief of the Police, in Triplicane itself. I am not sure that such acts of an Agent come within the description of the latter sentence of Talboys Wheeler's in regard to the doings of Lingappa. Master undoubtedly succeeded for the nonce, but the resources of Lingappa were great. He was apparently an energetic official, had the countenance of the chief officers at headquarters, two of them being his own uncles. As he pathetically pointed out that as Tarafdar of Poonamallee he had to pay a heavy tribute to headquarters, and latterly when he became Governor of Conjeeveram and ultimately rose to be the Viceroy of the Golkonda Carnatic, a position occupied

⁴ J. Talboys Wheeler, Madras in the Old Time (1882 Edition), page 63.

by the great Mir Jumla himself, he demanded what he thought was a fair quota from his point of view from Fort St. George. Seeing that the response was not reasonable enough, he resorted to coercive measures by merely declaring a blockade. Streynsham Master's reprisals took the form indicated above. Having regard to the resources of the Company at the time and the possibility of Streynsham Master's bringing on war with the kingdom of Golkonda as a whole, whether the East India Company was right or wrong in regard to their censure of the action of Master, no historian could doubt.

But even for Lingappa there was a case, and that it was not merely the private greed of the individual that was responsible would become clear from the following letter that he wrote to Governor Gyfford on his arrival in Madras. The letter speaks for itself. All we wish to point out here is that Lingappa must have been a man of energy and a capable administrator to have been promoted from a mere Talukdar of a small division like Poonamallee to the governorship of the Carnatic, and he must have served loyally; and if he went forward against Bijapur and Mysore at the time and conquered for Golkonda the Subha of Sira in Mysore, one of the divisions conquered for Bijapur by Shahaji, Sivaji's father, which constituted an integral part of the territory of Bijapur at the time, he could not have been the petty native chief that he is described to be. Peishcush and the desire for it may have been the canker that ate into the Indian administration just as private profit and petty speculations of various kinds did that of the British Company, as successive Governors of British India have time and again insisted. Sir William Langhorne was not free from it in Madras and one of the good things that Streynsham Master did as Governor of Madras was to put an end to private trade of the Company's servants.

From this lengthy letter of Lingappa it will become clear that far from being a petty official, whose one object was the demand of peishcush, he was a rather vigorous administrator and worked for getting from the Company, what, from his point of view, was the legitimate income for his masters, the rulers of Golkonda. The Company's Agents and their servants put up a struggle, not very much for the profit of the East India Company, as for their own private profit. A careful examination of the Fort St. George records themselves would indicate clearly that in this struggle perhaps the merits were on the side of the Golkonda Governor rather than the East India Company's servants. The verdict of Talboys Wheeler noted above is hardly supported by the known facts.

Translation of a letter, dated July the 10th, 1681, received July the 14th, 1681, from Podula Lingappah from Conjevaram, to The Right Worshipful William Gifford, Esq., Governor.

I enjoy good health wishing to hear the life from your worshipful; the kind letter you were pleased to write to me I have received the same in a good hour the contents whereof I have perused and joyfully observed. I have had notice of your arrival at Chinapatnam the 3rd current, and you have written

me accordingly, whereof I heartily rejoiced. I was informed that you have been sometime before at that place and have been very kind and have done a great deal of good to many people, and now it has been a matter of a year that the people hearing of your coming out all have waited for your arrival as the pearl oysters for the rains in October; and as that sort of fowl called Ehuccuroculoo waits for the rains from the clouds; and as the dry fields wait for the rains; and were continually looking towards the sea, wishing for your safe arrival as an afflicted people; and by the great fortune of the people, you have arrived there safely as well for their happiness as your own business.

The action of the late Government as follows, viz., I, unto whom the Diwan has been pleased to deliver me their chop, was ordered me to remain in these parts on their behalf, but the late Governor never took any notice of what I used to write to him, and there coming the king's phyrmaund and Braminy Maddana and Achana's Rocceas, and the Diwan's to your town, he would take no notice thereof, but turned them away. The town of St. Triplicane does belong to Poonamallee country, for Verona⁵ being a person that used to do a great deal of charity and having desired to let him have the place at farm we let him have it since which I, having sent our people to take possession of it, they were thrust away, and besides when Braminy Achana came to these parts he did not send to visit him nor vouchsafe to write him a humble letter. And besides he has proclaimed that none belonging to your town shall lend any money or offer to buy any paddy of any person belonging to the country under our Government. And if they did, they should be severely punished and many the like things. Notwithstanding all this, considering that strangers of great quality trading into this country and many people being maintained by them and those that live under you did do great deeds of charity; for these reasons I have winked at it as much as I could. He has laid a tax upon all the inhabitants of your town, and has taken from several of them money by force, and fined several others and done many other things which they being not able to endure any longer, left the town and came away expecting to have a cowle granted them and the Company's Merchants should leave the place; and came to live with them, it being a custom among the caste of this people, that if some should refuse to do as the rest, to make a kind of mutiny; and thereupon the people of that caste have hindered the carrying of any merchandise to your town; but the late Government seeing this sent about one hundred soldiers and two hundred peons towards St. Thome and Poonamallee and fell upon the town, robbed them and carried away the goods.

One son of a whore, a traitor and a murderer called Serapa, the late Governor's crediting that pitiful fellow's words that made him believe saying, that the Golkonda people, had no horse, nor men and that they should not do the country any greater harm for god's sake, and that if the English, did intend to take all the whole country who could hinder them; and when the late Governor did write to me, he did use to write as a master to his

⁵ Kasi Viranna, sometimes also called Hasan Khaz, was the Company's native agent for trade.

servant with many threatenings and many the like things; my master had notice of all these words and he was pleased to write to me saying that it was true that the English had farmed that town for 1,200 pagodas per annum, that it was likewise true, that we have only given the cowle for their European ships and the Company's goods and not for the goods that are bought and carried from this country upon such ships as come from Acheen, Pegu, Bantam, Manilla, Arakan, Malacca, Ormus, Tanasery, Orissa, Bengal, etc., places; and that we did not give them the Juncan thereof freely to them; it is not only this but St. Thome, did use to produce us 10,000 pagodas per annum, but by the great dissatisfaction we took against the French we razed that city to the ground; but all the people belonging to that place came to your town and therefore we lose that 10,000 pagodas per annum; and besides this they have kept and protected in your town such merchants as came from great places, as Poonamallee, Chingleput, Conjeevaram, Kaveripak, who did use to pay the Diwan certain taxes and thereby the English get a great deal and that whether or no the English had a phyrmaund for all these things and why the Diwan should lose all these benefits for farming the town to the English for 1,200 pagodas per annum; and therefore ordered me to endeavour to make the English give satisfaction for all these losses, and the money those people owe the Diwan, the English must either pay it, or if not willing to do it, they must be gone to their own country and that such insolent people should not remain in this king's country; and this he writes to me, but I considering it would be a great affliction to the people, I have only prohibited merchandize and permitted provisions to be carried to your town; but the late Governor being a very understanding person, and Serapah being his favourite and councillor took it very ill I should do so and sent and robbed Candore and intended to cut off the chief Talayaris, head of that place, but he being there with a few people (he made his escape).

Mr. Hearsey having desired me leave to get goods brought from St. Thome which he intended to have shipped for Manilla; but the late Governor having sent some people there (lacuna in the original) fetched the goods to Chinnapatam by force and besides that there being a Jaffanapatam vessel coming to St. Thome, the late Governor prepared a vessel and having shot several guns; the men that were upon this vessel being much surprised and afraid, endeavouring to get away, some of them fell into the sea and were drowned; what became of some of them, it is not yet known, but that boat was caried to Chinnapatam road, riding in St. Thome road which had brought palmirahs from Jaffanapatam, they cut her cable and carried her likewise to Chinnapatam having also kept a couple of sloops in the St. Thome road, and fired off guns with a design to lay hold of all the boats that were bound thither and therefore all the merchants that were there, left the place for fear and went away.

His Highness the Allumpanah^o has sent me a phyrmaund saying St. Thome was a great road and therefore I should name the place

^o Alam Panah, Protector of the world.

Hassennaubaud, and should endeavour to increase the place as much as I could, a person of my king having graciously looked upon it, the late Governor did endeavour to ruin it as much as he could. But how long should I suffer it.

The Diwan did grant their cowle for Chinnapatam and not for such persons as the late Governor to come further into the country and therefore to prohibit our country people from going to that place; I have only kept a few people about 3 or 4,000 round about your town with a design that the English imagining that Golkonda's people had but these soldiers, the English would sally out upon our people.

And whereas you are now come with a design to do good to all people I do not doubt but you will act so that there will be nothing done to the Company any prejudice; but all people to live contentedly (*sic*) and your trade and merchandize to go on well; and I hope all things will proceed prosperously when the Diwan lays hold on anything, they will not easily part with it and how do you design to please them.

My master writes to me that the late Agent had sent by Dubash Grua 2,000 pagodas for a present and 12,000 pagodas that remained due and by the means of Honasser the said money was delivered already into my master's treasury and he writes he has received the said money and that he only received the money but was not fully satisfied therewith, and whether or no you or they must not pay the money for Chinnapatam as much as Pulicat produces; and if the English should say they have their cowle, I should give for answer that they should only remain there themselves and the Company's merchants in the town, and should deliver us as Pulicat people did, all the St. Thome merchandize and of other places of our country which are there and all other caste which are in your town and that, excepting Europe ships, all other ships and vessels that come from all other places, should come from the Diwan's port and not yours.

Moreover, he wrote me that by the unjust proceedings of the late agent, I should fine him in great sums of money and hereafter to keep a good correspondence between him and me.

You write me word to permit merchandize and provision to be brought to your town; I shall not fail to do it. I shall not do contrary to your desire therein; it is very good for me to have friendship with so noble and discreet a person as you are, desiring not to esteem as a small friend, for in time you will come to be satisfied in my friendship; I do serve one for a little victual and I must obey what I am commanded by my master and therefore if you would send one of your persons and to empower him to do so as shall please my master, all things will go on very well and thereby you will obtain great honour. What need have I to enlarge any farther to so discreet and understanding a person as you are.

You may lay your commands upon me desiring the continuance of your love.

N.B.—The letter is partially modernized and punctuated; otherwise it is left as the literal translation of the original.

The Poligar System in the Tamil Country : Its Origin and Growth.

(By C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

The Madura country, as organised by Visvanatha¹ Nayak, the son of Nagama Nayak, and the founder of the Nayak rule of that region (*cir* 1529-1564 A. D.) stretched from Cape Comorin to Válíkondapuram on the north and from Coimbatore, Éróde, and the Western Ghats Ráméswarem and the sea on the east, according to the Mrtiunjaya Manuscripts¹ translated by W. Taylor. Visvanatha and his chief co-adjutor, Ariyanátha (or Ariyanayaga) Mudali who combined in himself the double offices of commander-in-chief and prime-minister (*Dalaváy* and *Pradháni*) were very efficient administrators and restored order in the country by the institution of the Pálaiyam² system of administration as the most practical solution of the difficulties. Visvanatha was trained in the administrative system of the Vijayanagara Empire and "made his mark in applying its principles in a systematic manner". The chronicles of the time attribute a larger share of constructive work to Ariyanatha than even to Visvanatha, in the matter of the establishment of the Pálaiyakar (*Poligar*) system.³

The number of Poligars in Tinnevely and Madura is considerable even to-day; and the title is said by Colonel M. Wilks to have been given by the Vijayanagara Kings to the chiefs of the Telugu colonies planted in the neighbouring provinces for the purpose of overawing the original inhabitants. Visvanatha Nayak had brought with him to Madura a large number of his own dependents and adherents whom he had to reward; besides these there were the old hereditary Tamil chieftains and the Telugu adventurers who had previously settled in the land and whose good-will it was necessary for him to secure; and above all there were the impoverished and discontented adherents of the ancient Pandyas whom he had practically abolished; as well as "the bold and turbulent Canarese and Telugu adventurers who had seized

¹ Taylor—*Oriental Historical Mss.* (1835), Vol. II, pp. 117-8; and Satyanatha Aiyer—*History of the Nayaks of Madura*; 1924—pp. 55-58.

² "Although the system was not completely new, in as much as we find some Pálaiyakáras in the southern country before the enthronement of Visvanatha, nevertheless to him was due its institution as a permanent and efficient body for the administration of the country and for the defence of the Capital."—H. Heras. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*; (Vol. I), p. 134. The Pálaiyam system grew up in the Mysore and Carnataka regions as well and spread even up to the Ceded Districts.

³ These Poligars, predecessors of the present Zamindars of Tinnevely; Ramnad Madura, and Tricinopoly districts, still look upon Ariyanátha as a sort of patron saint, and in the words of Nelson (*The Madura Country, A Manual*; 1868—Part III, page 90) pray to him as the founder of their order. Tradition makes much of him and his equestrian statue in the Puthu Mantapam at Madura was erected by the greatest of the Nayaks and is still crowned with garlands by the hero-worshippers of to-day. His achievements are summarised by Taylor (*Oriental Historical Mss.*, Vol. II, pp. 15 *et seq.*) and by Nelson, according to whom "if he (Ariyanatha) lived long enough, he lived not one moment too long". Ariyanatha died in 1600, in ripe old age, after having been at the helm for nearly half a century.

with a strong grip the northern and western divisions of the country". The Poligar system was the solution of Visvanatha and Ariyanatha of the difficult problem of reconciling the conflicting interests of all these classes; its object was to enrich and ennoble the most powerful of each class, and at the same time to secure their and their descendants' allegiance.⁴

The details of the scheme of the institution of Poligars as given in the chronicles are thus condensed by Nelson. There were 72 bastions to the fort of Madura and each one of them was now formally placed in charge of a particular chief who was bound for himself and his heirs to keep his post at all times and under all circumstances. He had to pay a fixed annual tribute and to supply besides a quota of cavalry and troops and maintain peace over a particular tract of country. In return he was given charge of a number of villages proportioned to his rank as well as the title of Pálaiyakáran (Poligar), besides other valuable gifts and privileges. The sources of Nelson's information are now somewhat discounted in their historical value. "All that can be regarded as probable is that the existence of the Poligars as a class dates from the period of the commencement of the rule of the Nayakas. Very few of the Zamindars (the principal exception is the Sethupathi of Ramnad) can claim that their estates or chief-ships were conferred upon them, prior to the Nayaka period by the old Pandya Kings".⁵

⁴ The term *poligar* is peculiar to the Madras Presidency; and "the persons so called were properly subordinate feudal chiefs occupying tracts more or less wild and generally of predatory habits in former days; they are now much the same as Zamindars in the highest use of the term. The word is Tamil *Pálaiyakáran*, the holder of a Pálaiyam or feudal estate; Tel. *Pálegadu*; and thence Mahr. *Pálegar*; the English form being no doubt taken from one of the two latter".—Yule and Burnell—*Hobson-Jobson*—New edition by W. Crooke (1903, p. 718). In Tamil the word *Pálaiyam* means the country or district of a feudal chieftain—a camp, or town, or village surrounded with stones; and *Pálaiyappattu* means a town or village governed by a Poligar or his estate. (M. Winslow; *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil* (1862), p. 766.)

Poligar according to Wilson (*A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms of British India*; 1855; p. 391) means a petty chieftain in the south of India especially in Karnata, occupying chiefly tracts of hill and forest, subject to pay tribute and service to the paramount state, but seldom paying either, and more or less independent, subsisting in a great measure by plunder . . . these have now subsided into peaceable land-holders.

The Poligars founded by the dynasty of the Madura Nayaks are known by the name of Southern Poligars; many of them are of the Totier caste and preserve the language of their ancestors as distinct from that of the Tamils. (*Vide* Mark Wilks: *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor*; 2nd Edn., Vol. I, p. 34, note.)

Caldwell gives the literal meaning of *Pálaiyakára* as the holder of a camp and secondly as the holder of a barony or military tenure. The English seem to have taken their favourite name Poligar, not from the Tamil *Pálaiyakára*, but from the Telugu *Pálegadu*, or the Canarese *Pálegára*, the meaning of which is the same. Similarly the Anglo-Indian word *Pollam* (Poligar's holding) is derived rather from the Telugu *Palemu* than from the Tamil *Pálaiyam*. (*History of Tinnevely*—p. 58.) According to the *Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company* (1812), Vol. II. Madras Presidency—the Poligars were military chieftains bearing a strong affinity to the Zamindars of the Northern Circars, whose origin may be traced to similar events and causes. Some were leaders of banditti or freebooters, others derived their descent from ancient rajahs or from those who held high offices of trust under the Hindu dynasties (*ed.*, of 1866, Vol. II, pp. 88-89).

⁵ B. Caldwell—*A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely*; 1881, pp. 57-58.

A list of the names of the chiefs actually appointed by Visvanatha and Ariyanatha can be made out from the materials contained in Ward's *Survey* and in the two lists published in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (Vol. II, pp. 160-8) as well from an unpublished Mackenzie Manuscript. Many of these chiefs are called Nayakkars⁶; one is a Reddiyar, another is a Tondaimanar and others are Kaunder, Servai, Tevar, and Nayanar. The actual number must have frequently fluctuated. Taylor's list divides the fiefs into nine sections, beginning with the kingdom of Malayalam (Travancore) and the principalities of Ramnad, Sivaganga, and Pudukkotta, which were "like adopted children of the Madura Government".⁷ Ramnad was founded in the year 1605 by Muthukrishnappa rather restored to the ancient line of the *Séthupathis*—guardians of the Isthmus of Rameswara, (according to the manuscript history of the *Carnataka Governors*, and the account of the Sethupathis, translated by Taylor and the historical memorandum furnished to Nelson by Ponnuswamy Thevan, the then manager of the Zamin-dari). The ancient line of the Sethupathis had always been dependent on the Pandya and had been in existence for centuries before Sadeika Thevan Udaiyan Sethupathi was crowned as Sethupathi by the Nayak; and Sivaganga was an off-shoot from Ramnad; and it dates as a Zamindari only from about 1730 A. D.; from which time Ramnad came to be known as the Great Marava, and Sivaganga as the lesser Marava or Nálukottai. The Tondaimans of Pudukkotta got first into prominence on account of their services to the Nayaks; and Pudukkottai was given the same rank as Travancore, Ramnad, and Sivaganga—these four being called the "adopted sons of the Kings of Madura", while the other chieftains were called Pálaiyakára servants.

Dr. Caldwell condemns the system of poligars as having been productive of great evil; for down to the period of their final subjection and submission to British authority in 1801, whenever they were not at war with the central power, they were at war with one another; and it was rarely possible to collect from them the tribute or revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force which added greatly both to the unpopularity and

⁶ The Tottiyars are, according to H. A. Stuart, writing in the *Madras Census Report* of 1891, a caste of Telugu cultivators settled in the districts of Madura, Tinnevely, Coimbatore, and Salem; and they are probably the descendants of Poligars and soldiers of the Nayakkan Kings of Vijayanagar who conquered the Madura country about the beginning of the 16th century. The traditional story of their migration to the Madura district is given in several of the Mackenzie Manuscripts. They are also called Kumbalattans, and they reverence the Pongu Tree (*Pongamia Glabra*) and believe themselves to have originally lived north of the Tungabhadra river from where they migrated and took service under the Kings of Vijayanagar. There are two sections of them, cultivators and petty Zamindars and those who wander about begging and doing menial work. They are divided into endogamous sects, and their most important sub-divisions correspond to the Telugu Gollas and Yerragollas. (Thurston and Rangachari—*Castes and Tribes of South India*, 1909, Vol. VII, pp. 183-197.)

⁷ Besides the first section comprising these, the second section contains the *pálaiyams* of Ariyatur (Malava Rayar or Nainar) Turaiyur (Reddiyar), Iluppaiyur, Kulattur, and Kattalur—Perambur. In the succeeding sections are included the *pálaiyams* of Periyakulam, Sivagiri, Ettaiyapuram, Seitur, Uttumalai, Kadambur, Maniacchi, Talaivankottai, Singampatti, Urkadu, Kuruvikkulam, Palani, etc. The list should have been subject to perpetual fluctuations, being "increased or diminished with the absence or existence of any one preponderating power among them". Wilson's *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya* (Eng. Tamil Ed.)—p. 43.

the expense of the collection. The Poligar considered his territory as a *Páliam* or encampment, and the Nayak rulers and their successors (the Nawabs) did not attempt to exercise or even to claim the right of exercising civil or criminal jurisdiction in the limits of his poligars' dominions. If his tribute were paid and his feudatory sent him assistance in his wars, his demands were satisfied.⁸

In the time of the famous Tirumala Nayak, (1623-59) the greater part of the lands constituting the several territories under his rule were held as military fiefs by the Poligars; the Sethupathi of Ramnad (the Great Marava of early Anglo-Indian historians) did him homage, but paid no tribute; and the ruler of Travancore paid tribute only when compelled; and the others were held under a fairly firm grip.

Every considerable town and village in the Nayak Kingdom was fortified and garrisoned with regular troops, artillery, trained elephants and horses; and a *dalakartan* was in charge of the defences of each town and responsible for its safety. Madura was also under a *dalakartan* who commanded the garrison and the police of the capital and became a most powerful official before the commencement of the 18th century. The Poligars in order to perform their military duties effectually, were to keep in perpetual readiness a kind of militia properly equipped for service and ready to take the field at a moment's notice. "This militia was exceedingly numerous, in fact nearly all the able-bodied ryots resident in the Poligar's dominions were militia men and liable to be called out whenever there was danger of invasion or a prospect of foreign service". Some of the nobles other than the Poligars, who lived at the capital, held large estates subject to military service and maintained regiments of infantry and cavalry. Some of the Poligars were placed in authority over others and they were made answerable for the good conduct of their subordinates. Thus the Sethupathi of Ramnad was the head of a section of them; the Poligar of Dindigal was the chief of 18 Poligars and "occupied a most distinguished position in the time of Tirumala". Whenever troops were required by the Nayak for military operations the *Dalavay* (*Dalakartan*) of Madura sent requisitions to such and such Poligars, to furnish so many armed men within a certain time; the Poligars immediately sent round orders to the *dalakartans* and headmen of the towns and villages; and on the day named, or soon afterwards, the levies were ready for service and in marching order. In times of pressing necessity the Sethupathi and every great leader of men in the kingdom would be called to arms, and swarms of troops would hurry to the king's assistance from every quarter. The soldiers of the Poligars were mostly ryots supporting themselves by lands granted to them rent-free on condition of rendering military service and received only *batta* when on march; while the expense of maintaining them in efficiency

⁸ A very considerable portion of the country south of Trichinopoly had thus passed into the hands of the Poligars. Hardly anything remained in the hands of the sovereign in the Madura and Dindigal regions; while all the country north of the Tamraparani river was in the hands of Poligars. The Palaiyam organisation likewise spread into the Carnatic and Mysore regions, as well.

A list of the names of the chiefs actually appointed by Visvanatha and Ariyanatha can be made out from the materials contained in Ward's *Survey* and in the two lists published in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (Vol. II, pp. 160-8) as well from an unpublished Mackenzie Manuscript. Many of these chiefs are called Nayakkars⁶; one is a Reddiyar, another is a Tondaimanar and others are Kaunder, Servai, Tevar, and Nayanar. The actual number must have frequently fluctuated. Taylor's list divides the fiefs into nine sections, beginning with the kingdom of Malayalam (Travancore) and the principalities of Ramnad, Sivaganga, and Pudukkotta, which were "like adopted children of the Madura Government".⁷ Ramnad was founded in the year 1605 by Muthukrishnappa rather restored to the ancient line of the *Séthupathis*—guardians of the Isthmus of Rameswara, (according to the manuscript history of the *Carnataka Governors*, and the account of the Sethupathis, translated by Taylor and the historical memorandum furnished to Nelson by Ponnuswamy Thevan, the then manager of the Zamin-dari). The ancient line of the Sethupathis had always been dependent on the Pandya and had been in existence for centuries before Sadeika Thevan Udaiyan Sethupathi was crowned as Sethupathi by the Nayak; and Sivaganga was an off-shoot from Ramnad; and it dates as a Zamindari only from about 1730 A. D.; from which time Ramnad came to be known as the Great Marava, and Sivaganga as the lesser Marava or Nálukottai. The Tondaimans of Pudukkotta got first into prominence on account of their services to the Nayaks; and Pudukkottai was given the same rank as Travancore, Ramnad, and Sivaganga—these four being called the "adopted sons of the Kings of Madura", while the other chieftains were called Pálaiyakára servants.

Dr. Caldwell condemns the system of poligars as having been productive of great evil; for down to the period of their final subjection and submission to British authority in 1801, whenever they were not at war with the central power, they were at war with one another; and it was rarely possible to collect from them the tribute or revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force which added greatly both to the unpopularity and

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was very trifling. The defects of such an organisation have been well pointed out by Nelson.⁹

The Poligar's men exercised police duties not only in their own villages but presumed to protect the property of the inhabitants and travellers in the adjoining villages and roads. This extension of authority wholly based on encroachment was converted into a pretext, "for the most severe oppressions of the people in the form of fees and ready money collections".¹⁰ They also claimed rights over lands in the circar villages which they presumed to hold as rent-free. This was partially caused by the fact that the Pollam lands were indiscriminately intermixed in many places with the circar villages and to some extent caused by the Poligars being allowed by the Nawab's Government to farm the lands in those villages. They frequently ejected the ryots from the lands of which they themselves held the inam rights and acquired a permanent interest in the kaval villages.

When the Poligars of the Carnatic including the Southern Districts were transferred to the control of the Company in 1792 by a treaty concluded with the Nawab,¹¹ the Company regarded them as usurpers of authority, but sub-

⁹ Apart from the lack of training and discipline characteristic of such troops "they were kept in order only so long as their leaders continued to be animated by a common hope of plunder and personal advancement, or restrained by a common fear of the enemy, or of the king's vengeance. A jealous quarrel among the leading chiefs or the retirement from the scene of action of one or two Poligars, who fancied themselves slighted or ill-used, would be amply sufficient to break up a force in the presence of the enemy or even in the very hour of success. Consequently however numerous might be the king's battalions, however brave his generals and officers, he could never for a single moment feel absolutely safe or regard even the slightest indications of disaffection with indifference. This was a fatal obstacle in the way of Madura becoming a first-rate Hindu Power and ultimately as we shall see, contributed not a little to the bringing about her downfall". (*The Madura Country, A Manual*; Part III, p. 158).

¹⁰ The power exercised by the Poligars of the Carnatic (the dominions of Nawab Muhammad Ali) in regard to police and the manner in which it was exercised either to raise revenue or to augment their influence is described in the report of Mr. Lushington, the Collector of the Poligar Peshcush in the Southern Districts, dated 20th August 1799. The Poligars collected two sorts of fees, as district-watchers and village-watchers. The village fees known as *Tallum Kaval* were of a much older creation than the Poligar's influence and authority, "being coeval with the establishment of villages and constituting the feud for the support of the talliers or officers of police". The Poligars had so encroached upon and assumed these rights that more than four-fifths of the villages in Tinnevely had come under their influence and their peons had superseded the talliers or retained them on condition of receiving from them a share of their perquisites. The *Déska Kaval* or district watching-fees originated either from a grant of the ruler or from the voluntary action of the villagers, who, being unable to protect themselves, submitted to such contributions. In later times these were levied by the Poligars from defenceless villagers as the price of forbearing to plunder them.

"These contributions consisted in payments of money, grain, plough, or cattle, and various other articles, and were made by armed peons detached from the fort of the Poligar for that purpose; they were not regulated by any fixed principle; but the amount depended upon the conscience of the Poligar; and when the payment of them was resisted or not quickly submitted to it was enforced by torture and the whip; the whole village was put into confinement; every occupation was interdicted, the cattle pounded, and the inhabitants taken captive into the *pollam* lands or murdered . . . The fees and collections thus made on account of the police, were exclusive of other assessments to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring circar villages were subject equally with those in the pollams, under various pretences such as hunting, batta, marriage expenses, and presents".—*The Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company* (1812), Vol. II, Madras Presidency (1866 edn.), pp. 89-90.

¹¹ Schedule No. 1, showing the list of Poligars with the amount of their respective tributes or peshcush, according to the 5th article of the treaty and article 3 empowering the Company to garrison all the forts in and exercise full authority over the Carnatic in Aitchison.—*A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads relating to India and the Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. X (4th Edn., pp. 49 and 54-55).

ject to the Nawab whose camp they were bound to attend whenever they were summoned with a military force proportioned to their power and territory. They had been a perpetual source of violence and distraction to the weak government of the Nawab upon whose officers they frequently retaliated. He had frequently tried to interfere with them but not to much purpose. As early as 1756, *i.e.*, soon after Muhammad Ali was firmly established in the Nawabship, the English resolved to take more decisive action with regard to the political settlement of the Madura and Tinnevely country. Orme describes in a detailed and admirable manner the desultory warfare that had to be waged by the "Company officers, Caillaud and Yusuf Khan, who, according to Malcolm, was the bravest and ablest of the native soldiers that ever served the English in India"—against the Poligars and their tools, the Mussalman adventurers from the Nawab's court. In 1760 Hyder Ali, having made a secret alliance with the French, fought with some Poligars whose estates lay between Dindigul (already in the possession of Mysore) and Trichinopoly. Yusuf Khan made himself very powerful in Madura, subdued most of the Poligars, over-ran the Sivaganga and Ramnad countries and even exacted tribute from the Rajah of Travancore. The capture of Pondicherry by the English in January 1761 and the departure of Mahfuz Khan, the rebellious brother of the Nawab, from the Tinnevely country where he was so long giving trouble, had damped the rebellious ardour of very many Poligars. The subsequent rebellion of Yusuf Khan, his besiegement in Madura by an army of English soldiers and Maravas, and his subsequent execution which at this distance of time seems all but inexcusable, should not blind us to the fact that it was for the first time during his governorship of Madura, the tribute from the Poligars was regularly collected, the property of individuals was secured from the depredations of the Kallars (the Collieries of Orme) and the public revenue was greatly augmented.¹²

The subsequent administration of the Madura country under the Nawab continued to be troubled as before, while the situation grew worse after Hyder's celebrated invasion of the Carnatic in 1780. The campaign of Col. Fullarton in 1783 into the country south of Trichinopoly following on the Assignment Treaty of 1781 produced some quiet as was reflected in his report of 1785 on the state of the country.¹³

After the Company took up the management of the Carnatic, the Court of Directors issued a despatch in 1795 in which they entered into a very full discussion of the principles underlying the treaty of 1792 and of the rights acquired by the Madras Government to reform the administration of the Poligar possessions. An interesting report was submitted by the Board of Revenue on this subject in 1797 and a minute was afterwards recorded by Lord Hobart in which he pointed out to the Court of Directors the means by which the Poligars might be rendered useful subjects and obedient tributaries of the British Government. The Directors expressed their agreement with

¹² John Sullivan's *Tracts upon India*, 1795 (p. 142), quoted as Appendix F in S. Charles Hill's *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant*; (1914).

¹³ *A view of the English interests in India* (Republished in Madras in 1867).

the views of Lord Hobart, and in the despatch of 5th June 1799 insisted on "the absolute suppression of the military power of the Poligars and on the substitution of a pecuniary tribute, more proportionate than the ordinary peshcush to the revenues of their pollams, and more adequate to the public demands for defraying the expenses of general protection and government".

The Collectors of the Southern and Western Poligar countries were ordered to report fully on the military establishments of the Poligars and the mode of their maintenance as well as on the revenue and other resources of each Poligar, and on the nature of the various oppressions to which the inhabitants were subjected. The events preceding Major Bannerman's expedition on the so-called Bannerman-Poligar War which centred round the conduct of Kattaboma Nayak, the Poligar of Panjalam-Kurichi, convinced Government that the time had come to fully and finally vindicate their authority and quell the rebellious spirit that was beginning to spread; but they temporised a little till Seringapatam was taken and their anxieties had vanished. Major Bannerman restored peace in some measure; but within two years there had to be waged another Poligar War which has been well described in the *Military Reminiscences* of General Welsh who was Staff Officer to the Commander throughout the campaign. After the final suppression of this rebellion Government in a proclamation dated 1st December 1801 suppressed the use of all weapons of defence and promised besides a general amnesty a permanent assessment to the Poligars on the principles of Zamindari Tenure. According to Bishop Caldwell, writing in 1881, the most remarkable of the changes brought about is that of the Poligar himself "The Poligar has become a Zamindar and has changed his nature as well as his name. One can scarcely believe it possible that the peaceful Nayaka and Marava Zamindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untameable chiefs of whose deeds of violence and daring the history of the last century is so full. One asks also: can it be really true that the peaceful Nayaka ryots of the present day are the lineal descendants of those fierce retainers of the Poligars? The change brought amongst the poorer classes of the Maravas is not perhaps quite so complete, but many of them have merged their traditional occupation of watchmen in the safer and more reputable occupation of husbandmen; and it may be fairly said of the majority of the members of this caste, that though once the terror of the country, they are now as amenable to law and reason as any other class".¹⁴

The Expansion Wars of Venkatapa Nayaka of Ikeri.

(By Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.)

There is a period of absolute darkness in the history of Karnataka, when the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara was on the wane, after the glory of the reign of

¹⁴ *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely* (p. 219).

Venkata II had faded away through the intervention of one of his wives and her brother¹. In the midst of such a general obscurity we hear of struggles of arms, cries of anguish and shoutings of victory. Such martial noises find an echo in the accounts of the travellers of those days and particularly in Pietro della Valle, as well as in some of the local poems. But the whole period can be elucidated by a study of documents contained in the Portuguese Government Archives at Pangim. The Portuguese had several small forts on the coast of Kanara and their Captains or Governors used to send accounts of the state of the neighbouring countries to the Viceroy of Goa.

Two of these accounts are of special interest for us. They were written in the years 1629 and 1630. I propose to publish first the original Portuguese text, and then an English translation of the same. Some brief comments appended at the end will help the reader to identify places and facts. "

FIRST DOCUMENT—AN EXTRACT OF AN ACCOUNT SENT TO THE PORTUGUESE VICEROY
FROM KANARA IN 1629.

Portuguese Original.

" Para. V. Ex.^a ver.

" Relação dos Reis Visinhos Doque por ora pasea e contão.

" Vencatapanaique Rey visinho as fortalezas de Onor, Barcelor, e Mangalor das partes do Canara auera dous meses que he morto, e lhe succede o neto chamado Verubadra naique de idade de 24 annos e como este Vencatapanaique tinha tomado m.^{tas} terras do^{tos} Reys visinhos, elles p verẽ morto andão leuantados cujo extenso he o seg.^t contra as tr.^{as} deste Vencatapanaique O Rey de Basau (apatão) por nome Amapa naiq filho de Quenga por lhe tomar o dito Vencatapanaique as tr.^{as} e limite de sincoen(ta) mil pagodes, e este auera noue annos q lhes tomou, e do Rey Vencatadrenaique de Belar, q^o tinha cazada hua irmão sua cõ hũ f.^o deste Vencatapanaique o qual he ja morto, antes q o pay, e porq lhe pedia q lhos tornasse as suas tr.^{as} elle não quis, e era de limite de quorenta mil pagodes, e este Rey ora condos (leuã)tado, Raganatanaique Rey de Sunda q^o lhe tem tomado o limite das tr.^{as} delle de doze mil pagodes gautaorer Rei de Beligum lhe tinha tomado o limite de sem mil pagodes do Rey Banguel the tã tomado o limite, e todo seja Reimo de cento e vinte e sinco mil pagodes e este Rey faz ora m.¹⁰ diantarse, e eudercitar cõ Vencatapanaique, e seus herdr.^{os} do Rey chauter tem tomado o limite de suas tr.^{as} perto de dez mil pagodes, e assy tem tomado o limite das tr.^{as} de mercadores principais de Barcelor de sincoenta mil pagodes, do Rey hona Canbolim lhe tem tomado o limite das tr.^{as} de cem mil pagodes, e De Beiradeuy Rainha de Ancola tem tomado todo o sen limite de trezentos mil pagodes, e da Rainha de Guercopa te tomado o limite todo de vinte sinco mil pagodes, e este Vencatapanaique a resp.^t de tomar os Reinos destas ambas rãs Rainhas q^o ficão sendo visinhas a el Rey Idalxa lhe paga o Vencatapanaiq tributo em cada anno trinta mil pagodes, todos estes Reys estão alenantados contra Virabadaranaiq a resp.^{to} da morte de Vencatapanaique, e estão jurados de se pelejarẽ, e

¹ Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 590-592.

fazerõ toda a guerra contra as terras do dito Vencatapanaique, e pede favor a este estado e era vindo este anno prezente, hñ embaxador de Vencatapanaique p^a fazer o contrato da pimenta, e visitar ao senhor Conde VRey."

English Translation.

For Y. E.'s information.

An account of the Neighbouring Kings and of the things that occur and are narrated now.

"Vencatapanaique, the King whose kingdom borders on the fortress of Onor, Barcelor and Mangalor of the country of Canara, died two months ago, and was succeeded by a grand-son named Verubadra Naique aged 24 years. Now as this Vencatapanaique had in his lifetime captured many lands belonging to other neighbouring kings, after his death all these petty chiefs have risen against the kingdom of this Vencatapanaique (Virabhadra Nayaka?). The king of Basauapatão, named Amapa Naiq, son of Quenga, whom the said Vencatapanaique deprived of his lands valued at fifty thousand pagodes nine years ago; and King Vencatadrenaique of Belar, who had married one of his sisters to a son of this Vencatapanaique, (who died before his father), had asked him to return the lands seized, which were valued at forty thousand pagodes, but this demand was refused. And this King now rebelled together with the two following ones: Raganatanaique, King of Sunda, from whom he has seized twelve thousand pagodes worth of lands; and Gantaorer King of Beligum, from whom he had seized a hundred pagodes worth of territory. Moreover the King Banquel who has been deprived by him of lands worth a hundred and twenty-five thousand pagodes is now advancing in array of battle against Vencatapanaique and his heirs. King Chauter also from whom he seized lands valued nearly ten thousand pagodes and King Hona Cambolim who has been deprived of lands estimated at a hundred thousand pagodes, and Beiradeuy Queen of Ancola who was stolen three-hundred thousand pagodes; and the Queen of Guercopa who had lost her all land worth twenty-five thousand pagodes. And then Vencatapanaique for having taken the kingdoms of these two Queens, who are on the boundaries of the territory of King Idalxa, pays an annual tribute to the latter consisting of a thousand pagodes. All these kings have now rebelled against Virabadaranaiq after the death of Vencatapanaique, and they have taken an oath to fight and march on the kingdom of the said Vencatapanaique, who is demanding help from me. And in the current year an Ambassador of Vencatapanaique came to settle the contract about the pepper and to pay a visit to the Senhor Conde Viceroy."

Pangim Archives, *Monções do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1629, Folios 448-449.*

SECOND DOCUMENT—ANOTHER ACCOUNT SENT TO THE VICEROY FROM KANARA, 1630.

Portuguese Original.

"O(rde)nação das cousas socedidas neste Canara (p^a) uer o sôr Conde de linhares Vizo Rey da yndia. A vinte e sete annos que o Rey Ventacapa Naique conquistou

todos os Reinos e terras desta costa de Canara e de seu gonção sogeitando os reis, e rainhas e balalas a quem tomou todos seus tizouros fazendo lhe em todos estes annos m.^{tas} tiranias, athe que faleceo na sua cidade de daoguery em des dias do mes de nouembro d 629. Em que logo foy aleuantado por Rey seu neto Virabadarnaique manjebo de vinte annos m.^{to} dado a dilicias e maos costumes.

" E tanto que foi sabido da morte do dito Ventacapanaique loguo o rey ydalcão mandou seu Embaxador por nome Mira : a o dito rey e lhe pidio lhe dece noue milhoís de ouro e sinco alifantes e duzentos caualllos arabios e lhe pagasã mais oitenta mil pagodes q el Rey seu avô lhe deuia de dous annos das parias q lhe não pagou e q tão bem largasse logo todos os reinos e terras q sen avô tinha tomadas aos reis rainhas e balalas da costa deste Canara, e de seu gonção e cõ esta embaxada tão rezoluta ficou este rey Virabadarnaiq m.^{to} enfadado e respondeo a ella que lhe daria trezentos-mil pagodes q hera hũ milhão mas q o dito rey ydalcão o avia de ajudar contra os q se lhe hinhão ya aleuantados ; reposta de que o oito embaxador não foy satisfeito de q se entende avera entre estes dous reis grande guerra se não vierã a conserto pello tempo em diante.

" E tão bem se leuanto logo o Rey da Sunda contra este Rey Virabadarnaique uindo entrando, suas fronteiras cõ m.^{ta} gente de pé e de cauallo e alifantes ao que se acudio e ouue grande, batalha onde moreo m.^{ta} gente de parte a parte e ficão de prezente em campo continuando sua guerra.

" Agora sea firma q o Rey de biliguỹ esta confederado cõ este rey de sundã pera ambos vnidos fazerẽ a guerra a este rey Virabadarnaique.

" Tão bem he serto q o Rey de Battapatão e o Rey de belur estão ambos confederados contra este rey Virabadarnaique e q estão ya entrados em suas terras cõ grande poder, e q lhe tomarão ya a fortz.^a de arguy em q lhe matarão m.^{ta} gentee caualllos e nesta querra ficão ambos continuando.

" O Rey da serra ueyo tão bem cõ poder contra o oito Virabadarnaique este rey he m.^{to} grande capitão e em pessoa uejo em demanda do ezercito deste Rey Virabadarnaiq de que hera general Virapanaiq e em batalha o desbaratou matando lhe m.^{ta} gente de pe e de cauallo e lhe tomou hũ alifante e trinta caualllos e este general ueio fugindo, e se meteo firido ua fortz.^a de Baguanor.

" O que sabido por este rey Virabadarnaique mandou logo contra este rey da serra outro eyzercito e por general delle, a sidilinganaiq cõ m.^{ta} gente de pê e de cauallo, a quẽ o dito rey da serra esperou cõ batalha e o desbaratou e firio e lhe matou o Capitão mor de sua dianteira e m.^{ta} gente de pê e de cauallo e este Capitão mor se chamaua timana naique pessoa de importancia, e o dito general fugio do Campo e m.^{to} mal ferido se foi a Cidade doaguery, e cõ es(tas) (duas) perdas ficou o poder deste rey Virabadarnaique mais demenu(ido).

" Estes reis são os q peleião cõ este rey do Gate p^a cima e tão bẽ mandão ajuda a esta gente do Gate p^a baixo.

" O Rey de bamguel esta aleuantado contra o dito rey Virabadarnaique e o rey de palpare e o rey de mayzur lhe dão ajuda tão bem estão aleuantados contra o mesmo

rey a rainha de olala e a rainha de Carnate o rey de gunbia e o rey de nerëguy e o rey agilara e o rey de Vmuzur e o rey de Calhator nouam.^{to} agora Croado por Rey de batecalla feito pello pouo a poucos dias e o balala de guedimardady e o balala de manypary e o balala de doltady e o balala de Color e o balala de penobur e o balala de pedanar e o balala de bedrete e o balala de ermala e o balala de Capy e o balala de Catapary e o balala de nelëbor e o balala de chitypary e o balala de Belor e o balala de condegre e o balala de Mudrady e o balala de hebery e o balala de hiretor e o balala de tomboso e o balala de anagy e o balala de tagrette e o balala de herar e o balala de gololer e a rainha de saura e o pouo de baguaner e o pouo de quelanar e o pouo das terras do Canduly e a balala de agoubé e o balala de mutur e o balala de mallor e o balala de modicar e o balala de adolly e o balala de muloly e o balala de Vitala e este pouo de Barcellor de Sima.

" E todos os sobreditos reis rainhas e balalas ficão cõ jurados e aliados Vnidos contra o dito Virabadarnaique e lhe fazê todos guerra pera cada hũ delles tornar a ficar cõ o que dantes hera seu q lhes foy tomado tiranicam^{te} pello Rey Ventacapanaique e todos estes ficão pelejando por varias partes e té ja todas as fortz.^{as} de serguo postas em aperto e os passos dos Gates todos tomados e fortificados p^a não poderẽ vir abaixo os socorros de man.^{ta} que do Canhoroto a lhe batecalla esta ya tudo aleuantado, e ya o rey Virabadarnaique dos Gates p.^a baixo não he sör de prezente de nada e esta tão apertado que se entende não podera ia mais restaurar o perdido saluo, esta gente confederada contra elle se tornar a desunir que em tal caso tornarão a virar as cousas em seu fauor porque he Rey m.^{to} rico estes confederados contra elle m.^{to} pobres, isto he o que se passa na verdade entre esta canalha.

" Esta ylha do Canbulÿ tê duas legoas pequenas de comprimento e hũ terço de legoa de largo tê fermosas Varzeas que he serto darẽ de colheta cada hano vinte mil fardos de aros, tem m.^{to} e fermosos palmares sendo esta ilha de sua mag.^{de} sera de grande bem pera este estado a Respeito de se passar a ella esta fortz.^a q não esta m.^{to} segura por Rezão de q fazendo o ynimygo hũ boluarte no lugar mais estreito desta barra não podera entrar nada por ella nẽ se podera secorer esta fortz.^a se não por embarquações M.^{to} ligeiras e piquenas, e estando esta fortz.^a na dita ylha a todo tempo se lhe pode meter o socorro pella costa braua, e quando assy se faça se segurão melhor os mantim.^{ta} s que uão deste porto p.^a essa Cidade cousa que lhe he tão necessaria, e tão bem se poderão tirar deste porto cada anno mil e quinhentos Candis de pim.^{ta} por moderado presso como ya em outro tempo se tirarão e de mais disto m.^{tos} martros de toda a forte e m.^{to} salitre, fero e asso e Cutanias cousas todas que o estado não escuza.

" E tão bem poderão aver nesta ylha e seus limites m.^{tas} isquipações de marinheiros pera as Armadas de remo do estado com que se possão escuzar as de terra firme e cõ isto se evita não terẽ os Malauares estas esquipações de marinheiros p^a seus nauios donde he serto as uẽ buscar ;

" E se deste porto sahirẽ doze sanguiceis armados em setembro e andarẽ lhe Majo de Cananor a lhe esta fortz.^a sera a mayor guerra q se pode fazer a todo o malauar, a quem se impedirão os mantimentos q destas partes lhe uão, e tão bem não poderão levar as ditas iscypações de marinheiros.

" Tera sua Mag.^{da} de rendim.^{to} nesta ylha de foros della e de outra rendas des mil Xes dr.^o bastante p^a o sustento da dita fortz.^a e pollo tempo emdiantesera este rendim.^{to} m.^{or} mayor morm.^{te} quoando nella se faça alfandiga.

" E p.^a na occasião prezente se poder senhoriar esta ylha se podera fazer cõ menos cabedal e poder doque nõqua se pudera fazer isto a Respeito do bom estado em q Vex.^a tẽ ordenado as couzas que parece adiunhou e antevio tudo o q o tempo podia ordenar no q eu tenho bem seruido a sua Mag.^{da} cõ diligencia e m.^{or} gasto de minha fazenda q hey por bem empregada pois Vex.^a tãõ bem tem afeitado no q tanto convinha ao seru.^o de sua Mag.^a de q entendo ficara este estado m.^{to} acrescentado Guarde Nosso sõr a pessoa de Vex.^a m.^{to} annos. Barcellor a 16 de Jan^{ro} de 1630.

" L^o de Sousa de m^{dez}."

English Translation.

An account of the events that took place in this Canara, for the information of the Count of Linhares, Viceroy of India.

Twenty-seven years ago King *Ventacapa Naique* conquered all the kingdoms and countries of this coast of the Canara and its neighbourhood bringing under his sway the kings, queens and balalas, whom he despoiled of all their treasures, and for all these years oppressed, until he died in his city of *Daoguary*, on the 10th November, 1629. In which year, his grandson, *Virabadar Naique*, a youth 20 years old, addicted to luxury and bad habits, was proclaimed king.

And as soon as the death of the said *Ventacapa Naique* was made known, King Ydalcão (*Adil Shah*) immediately despatched his ambassador, named *Mira*, to the said king, requesting him to give him 9 millions of gold (pieces), 5 elephants and 200 Arab horses, and to pay him besides the 80,000 *pagodas* which the king, his grand-father owed him for the 2 years of tribute, which he had not paid; and also to evacuate all the kingdoms and countries taken from the kings and queens and balalas of this Coast of Canara and its neighbourhood. King *Virabadar Naique* was extremely annoyed at this arrogant embassy, and replied that he would pay 300,000 *pagodas* which amounted to one million, but on the condition that the said king Ydalcão (*Adil Shah*) would help him against those who had already revolted—a reply which did not satisfy the said ambassador, from which one can see there will be a great war between these two kings, unless they come to terms later on.

The king of *Sunda* also soon rose against this king *Virabadar Naique*, entering his territories with a large number of foot and horse and elephants. Resistance was offered (*ao que se acudio*) and there was a fierce battle in which great numbers fell on either side. They are still holding the field in continuation of the war.

It is now affirmed that the king of *Biliguim* is in league with this king of *Sunda*, in order to make a joint advance and wage war against this king *Virabadar Naique*.

It is also true that the king of *Battapatan* and the king of *Belur* are both leagued against this king *Virabadar Naique*, and that they have already invaded his territory

with a large force and taken from him the fortress of *Arguy*, when they slew many men and horses ; and that both are going on with the war.

The king of the *Serra* also marched with an army against the same *Virabadar Naique*. This king is a very distinguished captain and he came personally in pursuit of the army of this king *Virabadar Naique*, which was under the command of the general *Virapa Naique*, and in a battle he defeated him, slaying many of his people, both foot and horse, and capturing one of his elephants and thirty horses, while the general himself fled from the field and being wounded, took shelter in the fortress of *Baguanor*.

When the king *Virabadar Naique* heard of this, he immediately sent, under the command of *Sidilinga Naique*, another army against this king of the *Serra*, with a large number of foot and horse. The said king of the *Serra* waited for him and gave him battle, routing and wounding him, and slaying besides a large number of foot and horse and the chief Captain of his van, named *Timara Naique*, who was a man of consequence ; while the said general himself fled from the field, and, being badly wounded, retired to the city of *Daogery*. With these two losses the power of king *Virabadar Naique* was further crippled.

These are the kings who are at war with this king in the *Upper Ghats*, and also send help to the people of the *Lower Ghats*.

The king of *Bamquel* has rebelled against the said King *Virabadar Naique*, and the king of *Palpare* and the king of *Mayzur* are lending him aid. The following have also rebelled against the said king : the queen of *Olala* and the queen of *Carnate*, the king of *Gumbia* and the king of *Nereguy*, and the king *Agilara* and the king of *Umuzur* and the king of *Calhator*, now again crowned as king of *Bateculla* elected by the people a few days ago ; and the balala of *Gucaburgradady* and the balala of *Manypary* and the balala of *Doltady* and the balala of *Color* and the balala of *Penabur* and the balala of *Pedamar* and the balala of *Bedrete* and the balala of *Ermala* and the balala of *Capy* and the balala of *Catapary* and the balala of *Nelēbor* and the balala of *Chitypary* and the balala of *Belor* and the balala of *Condegre* and the balala of *Mudrady* and the balala of *Hebery* and the balala of *Hiretor* and the balala of *Tomboso* and the balala of *Anagy* and the balala of *Tagrette* and the balala of *Herar* and the balala of *Gololer* and the queen of *Saura* and the people of *Baguaner* and the people of *Quelanar* and the people of the lands of *Canduly* and the balala of *Agoube* and the balala of *Mutur* and the balala of *Mallor* and the balala of *Modicar* and the balala of *Adolly* and the balala of *Muloly* and the balala of *Vitala* and this people of *Upper Barcellor*.

And all the aforementioned kings, queens and balalas have conspired and formed an alliance against the said *Virabadar Naique* and all harass him with war, that each one of them might recover and keep what was once his own and which had been unjustly wrested from them by king *Ventacapa Naique*. And all these engage him on different sides, and have already blockaded the fortresses of *Serguo*, and taken and fortified all the passes of the *Ghats*, to prevent help coming down ; so that, from the *Canhoroto* to *Bateculla*, everything is in revolt and King *Virabadar Naique* is no longer master of anything below the *Ghats*, and is in such straits that he thinks he will no more be able to recover his losses, unless these people who are leagued

against him should again be divided among themselves ; when matters might turn in his favour, since the king is very rich, and these leagued against him very poor—this is what really goes on amongst this rabble.

This island of *Cambolim* is two leagues in length and one-third of a league in breadth. It has lovely paddy-fields, which, certainly yield a yearly crop of 20,000 bags of rice, as also many beautiful palm-groves. It will be of great use to the state if this island comes into the possession of His Majesty, that thither might be transferred this fortress which is not quite safe, for, in case the enemy sets up a bulwark at the point where this river is narrowest, it will be impossible for anything to enter it, or to bring reinforcements to this fortress, except by very light and small boats, whereas, in case this fortress stands on this island it will be possible at any moment to send it aid by the *deserted* coast. By this step it will also be possible better to secure the provisions that go from this harbour to that City—a thing very essential to it,—and also it will be possible to take from this harbour a yearly load of 1,500 *Khandis* of pepper at a moderate price, as formerly ; and besides this, many of all classes, with much nitre, iron and steel, and all things with which the State cannot dispense.

And also there will be found in this island many sailors for the royal fleets of the State, which will make it possible to dispense with those of the metropolis ; this will prevent the *Malabaris* from having these sailors for their ships, for it is well known that they come here to take them.

And if from this harbour there should sally forth, in September, twelve armed *Sanquiçeis*, and scour the seas between *Cananor* and this fort, till the month of May, it will be the best kind of war that could be waged against the whole *Malabar*, by cutting off from it the provisions that go to it from these places, as also by preventing them from securing the said sailors.

His Majesty will have from this island an income of 10,000 being proceeds of the quit-rent and other sources sufficient for the maintenance of the said fortress ; and, in future, this income will be greatly increased, especially if the custom house is transferred there.

And it will be possible to take possession of this island with less money and forces than ever, owing to the good state in which Your Excellency has placed the affairs, so that one might think you had divined and foreseen all that time could bring. In this I have served well His Majesty with diligence and a great sacrifice of my own fortune, which, however, I think has been well spent, since Your Excellency has also laboured in the service of His Majesty, that I daresay this State will be largely extended. May our Lord keep Your Excellency for many years. Barcellor, on the 16th January, 1630.

L^o de Sousa de Menezes.

Pangim Archives, *Monções do Reino*, No. 12, Ano de 1629, Folios 481-482.

These two documents refer to the wars which broke out after the death of Venkaṭapa Nāyaka and enthronement of his successor Virabhadra Nāyaka. The documents describe him as Venkaṭapa's grand-son, and such he is also called by the

*Sivatattvaratnākara*² and by Pietro della Valle.³ The *Sivatattvaratnākara* informs us that Veṅkaṭapa's son Bhadrappa retired from the world resigning his rights in favour of his son Vīrabhadra. Pietro della Valle says that Vīrabhadra was the one "whom he (Veṅkaṭapa) designs for his successor." Yet his succession seems not to have been uncontested; for the same Italian traveller points to some of his relatives as prospective pretenders; viz., Sadāśiva Nāyaka, son of one of Veṅkaṭapa's daughters,⁴ "and two of Veṅkaṭapa's, Nephews by one of his Brothers whom he keeps prisoner."

But the most important information contained in these documents refers to the expansion-wars of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka and to the number of petty kingdoms annexed by him. The names of these small states given in these Portuguese documents are so corrupted that it is sometimes difficult to identify them. The rulers are called sometimes kings or queens, and sometimes balalas. This last word is a Kanarese denomination given to some chieftains inferior in power to the petty kings. The word is still in use; in fact, there are still several balalas in South Kanara. It originally means "strong man." Hence Rice says that its significance is "mighty one" or "great one."⁵

Alphabetical List of Names and their Identification.

Adolly (The balala of). Not identified.

Agilara (The king of). Ajilara (near Mulki). This chief ruled from Venur, in South Kanara. The ruling family dispossessed by the Ikeri Nāyak were Jains.⁶

Agoube (The balala of). Agumbe, a place on the Ghats, north of the Uḍipi Taluka, within the limits of South Kanara.⁷

Anagy (The balala of). The identification of this place is very doubtful. It could be Koṇāje, under the Balalas of Mavalli⁸; or Amunje within the jurisdiction of the Balala of Manel.⁹ Both places belong to the Mangalore Taluka.

Ankola (The Queen of). Ankola. The place is still called Ankola, in North Kanara. The ruins of its fort prove the ancient grandeur of the place. It was in fact one of the largest kingdoms seized by Veṅkaṭapa, as the first document says that it yielded 300 thousand pagodas. The name of the Queen was according to the 2nd document Bhaira Dēvī. But apparently there had never been kings or chiefs at Ankola.¹⁰ Hence we suspect that this Bhaira Dēvī was the same Bhaira Dēvī, Queen of Gersopa, also defeated and dispossessed by Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka; and, that the so-called kingdom of Ankola formed part of the kingdom of Gersopa. This suspicion is confirmed by Caesar Frederick who when passing through Ankola in the second half of the XVIth century, expressly states that Ankola belonged to the Queen of Gersopa.¹¹

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 344.

³ Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 284. (Haklyut Society Edition.)

⁴ He is also called the son of one of Veṅkaṭapa's sisters by the same Pietro della Valle, o.c., p. 262.

⁵ Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl, 139.

⁶ Cf. Aygal, *Ancient History of South Kanara* (in Kanarese), p. 313 ff.

⁷ Cf. Sturrock, *South Kanara Manual*, p. 14.

⁸ Cf. Aygal, o.c., p. 393.

⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

¹⁰ Cf. *North Kanara District Gazetteer*, p. 258.

¹¹ Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, X, p. 99.

Arguy (The fortress of). Not identified.

Baguaner (The people of). This name cannot be identified.

Baguanor (The fortress of). Not identified.

Bamguel (The King of). Bangher, north of Mangalore, now included within the city of Mangalore between Kodialbail and Urwa. The chiefs of Bangher rose to power after the second half of the 11th century.¹² He is called in the first document "the King Banguel." This nevertheless was not his name. He was called Lakshmana Bangharasa, apparently the second of this name (L.). He was for mere political reasons married to the Queen of Ullāl, but their strained relations finally caused the downfall of both. The king was favoured by the Portuguese, and against both, Venkatapa Nāyaka was called by the Queen of Ullāl. "Venkatapa Naieka," says Pietro della Valle, "sent a powerful Army in support of the Queen, took all the king of Banghel's Territories and made them his own, destroying the Fort which was there".¹³ Accordingly the same traveller says that "the King of Banghel is now a fugitive, deprived of his Dominions."¹⁴ The Portuguese had unsuccessfully helped the Bangher chief against Venkatapa.¹⁵ Hence when the king saw himself defeated and expelled from his own country, he asked the Portuguese Viceroy for help.¹⁶ The dilatory policy of Goa shows that they were trying to ingratiate themselves with the new rising power, *i.e.*, the Nāyak of Ikeri.¹⁷ The unfortunate king retired to the principality of one of his allies in the southernmost corner of Kanara. Who this chief was we are unable to say. The harbour of Kāsargode was within his jurisdiction.¹⁸ This war of Venkatapa against Bangher was already finished towards the end of 1615; for the king of Portugal wrote on the subject to his Viceroy on March 14th, 1616.¹⁹ Della Valle, who saw Bangher about ten years afterwards, gives the following description of it:—"Then you come to Banghel, which is of a rich soil and sometime better peopled than at present; whence the Houses are poor cottages of earth and straw. It hath but one straight street, of good length, of Houses and Shops continu'd on both sides, and many other sheds dispers'd among the Palmetoes. The King's House stood upon a rais'd ground, almost like a Fort, but is now wholly destroy'd, so that there is nothing left standing but the posts of the gate; for when Venkatapa Naieka took this Territory, he demolish'd whatever was strong in it".²⁰ The ruins of this fort were identified by my friend Prof. C. J. Varkey, St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore.²¹

Barcelor (The chief merchants of). Basrur, on the Gangoli river; near this city the Portuguese had built the fortress called Barcelor, within the modern town of Kundapur. Who governed Basrur is not easy to say. At the time of the wars of Venkatapa the city apparently belonged to no king, for the document mentions

¹² Aygal, o. c., p. 276.

¹³ Della Valle, *Travels*, p. 313.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

¹⁵ Faria y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, III, pp. 325-6.

¹⁶ There are several documents in the Portuguese Government Archives, Pangim, that refer to this subject. Photographs of them may be seen in the St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay.

¹⁷ From the King to the Viceroy, 1607, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 74.

¹⁸ Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 286.

¹⁹ Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, III, p. 478.

²⁰ Della Valle, o. c., p. 302.

²¹ Varkey, *Historical Papers*, pp. 46-55.

the chief merchants of the place only. The son of Affonso d'Albuquerque speaks of one Retelim Cherim (Radalingam Chetty), the chief noble at the court of Krishna Dēva Rāya, who was "the Governor of Bracelor" in 1514.²² After considering these two authorities one is inclined to think that Basrur was an independent town (within the Empire of Vijayanagara), ruled by a Governor or by a Council in the manner of a republic. But other authorities speak of a monarchical ruler of the city. Thus, Faria y Souza says that the city belonged to the chief of Polar in 1569²³; and Ferishta speaks of the Rani of Barcelor in 1575.²⁴

Barcellor de Sima. Upper Barcelor. This is the real Hindu town of Basrur, called by the Portuguese Upper Basrur to distinguish it from their fort of Barcelor or Basrur, situated in the modern town of Kundapur. Some walls of this fort are still to be seen.

Batecalla (The king of). Bhatkal, the last town of North Kānara District, 8 miles far from the boundaries of the Madras Presidency. It was a famous harbour in ancient days. The second of the above documents speaks of "the recently crowned king of Batecalla elected by the people a few days ago." Yet we hear of a king of Bhatkal only once. In 1502 when Vasco de Gama landed at Bhatkal he found there a King²⁵. But a queen was the sovereign of Bhatkal in 1540,²⁶ 1543²⁷ and 1548²⁸. Caesar Frederick, when passing through Bhatkal in 1567, also found there a Queen²⁹. King Philip II writing to his Viceroy in 1596 again speaks of the Queen Bhatkal³⁰. This principality was feudatory to Vijayanagara, as the Italian traveller Corsali had already noted in 1517³¹. Chikka Sankana Nāyaka, the predecessor of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka on the Ikeri throne, had already ambitious views over the kingdom of Bhatkal. A letter of the King of Portugal to his Viceroy, dated November 21st, 1598, says: "You say that the Queen of Baticala has not paid the tribute due for many years, and that she is now in great distress on account of one Naique, formerly a subject of the king of Narsingua (Vijayanagara), but now risen to power, and who gives clear proofs of his ambition to become the paramount lord over all those neighbouring kings."³² This Naique cannot be other than Chikka Sankana. Peter Mundi records the fact that Veṅkaṭapa took possession "of Hadivalli, residence of the Queen of Bhatkal."³³ The King spoken of in this document was the same king of Calhator. See *Calhator*.

Battapatão (The King of). Basavapattana, in the Shimoga District, Mysore State. In the first of the above documents the place is also mentioned as Basa(vapatão). The King is there named Amapa Naique (Nāyaka). He was the elder brother of Hanuma, the king of Sante Bennur, with whom he was allied against Virabhadra Nāyaka. See *Bellur*. The King of Basavapattana, according to the

²² *Commentários do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque*, IV, p. 139.

²³ Faria y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 469-70.

²⁴ Ferishta-Briggs, III, pp. 140-141.

²⁵ Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, pp. 81-82.

²⁶ Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, IV, p. 252.

²⁷ Faria y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 117-120; Correa, o. c., IV, pp. 257-262.

²⁸ Lima Felner, *Subsídios*, pp. 242-243.

²⁹ Purchas, *Hic Pilgrimes*, X, p. 101.

³⁰ Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 569, No. V.

³¹ *Gubernatis, Storia dei Viaggiatori*, p. 117.

³² Cf. Heras, o. c., I, p. 423.

³³ Mundi, *Travels*, III, p. 76.

Sivatattvaratnākara came to terms with Veṅkaṭa and offered him the three following cities : Lakkuhalli, Gajanur and Shimoga.³⁴ This poem also speaks of his rebellion against Virabhadra Nāyaka. He is said to have marched on Ikeri at the head of a Muslim army, but finally was defeated by Virabhadra.³⁵ This Muslim army seems to have been the army of Bijapur, with whose Sultan the King of Basavapattana was secretly allied.³⁶

Bedrete (The balala of). Mudbidri in the Karkala Taluka, South Kanara. The town is still called Bidri (Bambu). Mudu, meaning east, Mudbidri is interpreted to mean 'eastern Bambu.' The place belonged to the Queen of Ullāl, and was seized by Veṅkaṭapa after the war with Bangher, as a kind of compensation for the help he rendered to her. "For, besides his subjecting her to his obedience in a manner," says, Pietro della Valle, "she was necessitated (whether by agreement or violence I know not) to resign to him Bedrete, which is the best and richest City she had."³⁷ The city, called Venupura in ancient days, seems to have been attacked by Veṅkaṭapa. The Governor who defended it was a Brahman named Śankarānāyana Bhatta. After his defeat Veṅkaṭapa spared his life, since he was a Brahman.³⁸ This Governor seems to be identified with one São Carnão Botto, mentioned in several Portuguese documents, whom I could not identify when writing my history of *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*.³⁹

Belar (The king of). Bellare, a village of the Uppinangadi Taluka, South Kanara District.⁴⁰ According to the first document the petty chief of this place, named Vencatadrenaique (Veṅkaṭadri Nāyaka), was related by marriage to Veṅkaṭapa of Ikeri himself.

Bellur (The king of). There are several places bearing this name, hence it is difficult to identify it :—

1. Bellur, chief town of the Bellur Taluka, Hassan District, in Mysore State, also called Belapura or Velapura in ancient inscriptions. The Nāyaks of Bellur became prominent in the time of the third and fourth Dynasties of Vijayanagara.

2. Another Bellur is to be found in the Karkala Taluka. It was under the Ajilāru family ruling from Venur, in South Kanara.⁴¹

3. Another place called Beluru, in the Nalvatanad Magane, in the Udipi Taluka, 17 miles north of Udipi. In the temple of Śiva in this village there is an inscription dated 1561 recording a grant made by one Mahādēva Udaiyar to the said temple.⁴²

Nevertheless the place meant by the Portuguese document does not seem to be either of these towns. The second of the above documents informs us that the king of Bellur was allied to the king of Battapatão (Basavapattana). This town is in the Shimoga District of the Mysore State. It seems but natural that Bellur

³⁴ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 344.

³⁵ *Ibid* p. 346.

³⁶ Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 158.

³⁷ Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 315.

³⁸ *Sivatattvaratnākara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 344-345.

³⁹ Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 416, 417 and 427.

⁴⁰ Cf. Stuart, *South Kanara Manual*, p. 271.

⁴¹ Aygal, o. c., p. 316.

⁴² Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, I, p. 231.

should be in this neighbourhood. As a matter of fact the city of Bennur or Sante Bennur seems to be the one referred to by the document. Its chiefs were of the same family as those of Basavapattana. One of them Hanuma was, according to the *Sivatattvaratnākara*, defeated by Veṅkaṭapa of Ikeri.⁴³ He seems to be one of the three Hanumapas mentioned in an inscription of the Hanumali Taluka.⁴⁴ See *Battapattāo*.

Belor (The balala of). This place may perhaps be one of the above mentioned towns in the Udipi or Karkala Talukas. Or it is perhaps to be identified with Bolor or Bolur in the neighbourhood of Mangalore.⁴⁵

Biliguy or *Biligin* (The king of). Bilgi, in the Siddāpur Taluka, North Kanara District. It was formerly called Śvetapur or 'white city.'⁴⁶ It seems to have been founded in 1593;⁴⁷ so it was not very old when captured by Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka. The second of these documents alludes to an alliance between the king of Bilgi and the king of Sunda, against Virabhadra Nāyaka. Such an alliance also seems to have included the Sultan of Bijapur.⁴⁸ See *Sunda*.

Cambolim (King Hona). Gangoli, in the Kundapur Taluka, South Kanara. The village is on a small peninsula-like strip of land between the sea and the Kundapur river on the north bank of the same. The Portuguese some years afterwards built a fort half a mile north of the village and dug a canal from the sea to the river in order to separate their fort from the main land, thus making it (as they supposed) impregnable. I have come across many documents about this enterprise in the Portuguese Government Archives at Pangim, which will be published in the second volume of my history of *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*. Some traces of this canal are still to be seen half a mile south of Kirimunēshwar. The fort was finally taken by Śivapa Nāyaka of Ikeri, the successor of Virabhadra. Remains of this fort are still found half a mile north of Gangoli. The rulers of Gangoli are often mentioned in ancient Portuguese records. Faria y Souza says that the king of Cambolim was subject to Vijayanagara.⁴⁹ The same author says that the king of Cambolim was in alliance with the king of Tolar, and even mentions the Queen of Gangoli.⁵⁰ These petty chiefs were called kings of Gangoli by the Portuguese, for Gangoli was within their dominions; in the same way the Sultan of Ahmedabad was also called the King of Cambaya (Cambay). Nevertheless the King of Gangoli never resided at Gangoli itself, which, excepting the ruins of the Portuguese fort, retains no relic of its past grandeur. Very likely these chiefs did reside at Byndoor. It was, however, the seat of a Jain family which was destroyed by Śiva-bhaktars.⁵¹ This destruction undoubtedly refers to the rulers of Ikeri who were worshippers of Śiva. The name of the king who rebelled against Virabhadra was Hona, which is not an uncommon name among the petty chiefs of the Karnataka coast.

Canbulj. See *Cambolim*.

⁴³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 344.

⁴⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Hl, 34.

⁴⁵ Cf. Stuart, *South Kanara Manual*, p. 258.

⁴⁶ Cf. Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 191.

⁴⁷ Cf. *North Kanara Gazetteer*, p. 276.

⁴⁸ Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 158.

⁴⁹ Faria y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 469 and 474.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 476-479.

⁵¹ Cf. Stuart, *South Kanara Manual*, p. 243.

Canduly (The people of the lands of). Not identified.

Canhoroto. Kāsaragod or Kāsargode, 27 miles south of Mangalore, the capital of the southernmost Taluka in South Kanara. Pyrard de Laval, who visited Malabar and Kanara in 1607—a few years before Veṅkaṭapa's conquest—says the following about Kasaragod: “Congelotte, another harbour of the corsairs, who rule a great extent of countries and peoples. . . . They have certain lofty buildings erected upon piles on the sea-shore; these they keep sentinels to scan the horizon. They know within a little when the Portuguese fleet **may** be expected, and have intrenchments ready on land to obstruct their landing.”⁵² Kāsaragod seems not to have been conquered by Veṅkaṭapa, for Pietro della Valle in 1623 says that the place belonged “to another small but free Prince” to whom the defeated King of Bangher retired,⁵³ as said above. Śivapa Nāyaka built a fort at Kāsaragod.⁵⁴

Kapy (The balala of). Kapy, in ancient days Kaup. The traditional name of these balalas seems to be ‘Kaup Marda Hegde.’ They ruled over Padu, Mallāru, Mulūru, Pādura, Herūru, Mūjūru and Innange in the Uḍipi Taluka.⁵⁵

Carnate (The queen of). This is the queen of Carnate spoken of by Pietro della Valle. He says that she “was also confederate with the Portugals, and no friend to her of Olala (Ullal)”⁵⁶ “I prepar’d myself to go to Carnate,” continues this traveller, “to see the Queen whose Territory and City is, as I have said elsewhere, two or three Leagues distant from Mangalore, upon the Sea-Coast towards the North. The City stands upon a River which encompasses it and over-flows the country round about. It was to be very strong both by Art and situation; but, during the war of Mangalor, Venk-tapa Naieka, coming with a great army to subdue and pillage all these countries, sent for this Queen to come and yield obedience to him. The Queen, who, as I have heard, is a Lady of much virtue and prudence, being unwilling to render herself to Venk-tapa, summoned her Captains together, told them that she was ready to spend and give them all the Money and Jewels she had, and not to be wanting on her part to exert her utmost power, if they would prepare themselves to defend the State. But these Ministers either through Cowardice, or Treachery would not attempt a defence. Whereupon the poor Queen, who as a Woman could do little by herself (her son also being very young), seeing her people disheartened, resolv’d by their advice to surrender herself to Venk-tapa Naieka; and accordingly prepar’d to go to him with a good Guard of Soldiers. Hearing which he sent to her to come alone without other company than her Attendants; which she did, not voluntarily but constrain’d thereto by her hard Fortune and the treachery of others. Venk-tapa receiv’d her honourably and took her into his Friendship and Protection; but with all he caus’d the City to be dismantled of the strong Walls it had, to prevent her rebelling against him afterwards, and left her, as before, the Government of the State, tying her only to obedience, the payment of a Tribute, and the profession of an honourable Vassalage to him. When they dismantled the City the Queen (they say) unable to endure the sight, retir’d into a solitary place, a

⁵² Pyrard de Laval, *Travels*, I, pp. 344-345 (Haklyut Society Edition).

⁵³ Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 286.

⁵⁴ Cf. Stuart, *South Kanara Manual*, p. 248.

⁵⁵ Aygal, o. c., p. 417; Hegde, pp. 184, 191 and 204.

⁵⁶ Della Valle, o. c., p. 314.

little distant, cursing in her solitude the Pusillanimity and Infidelity of her own people, no less than the bad fortune and weakness of the Portugals her defenders, to whom she had been always a faithful friend. At this time she lives with her young son, either in Carnate, or some other place thereabouts.”⁵⁷ This place was formerly called Carcara and Carnati.⁵⁸ Now it is called Karnad a small hamlet nearly five miles south of Mulki.

Catapary (The balala of). Kaṭṭupādi or Kaṭpādi. These balalas were called ‘Kaṭṭupādi Dore Balalas’ and ruled over the Kaṭṭupādi Sāvira-sime, including Mūdubettu, Kōṭe, Maṭṭu, Uliyāragōṭi, Pangāla, Belle, Eṇugudde, Kuṛkāla, Manipura and Alevuru, all in the Uḍipi Taluka.⁵⁹

Chauter (King). The Chautar family was the family of Ullal. In the first of the above documents the Queen of Ullāl is not mentioned. She is undoubtedly meant by this reference, though only the King is referred to. This king could be her son, Saluva Rairu, who, though not actually reigning, received the title of king.⁶⁰

Chitipary (The balala of). Chittupadi in the Uḍipi Taluka. These balalas were originally Jainas and ruled over Heraga, Badagabettu, Herebette, Kudi, Veruankila and Marane.⁶¹

Color (The balala of). Kuḷūr nearly 2½ miles north of Mangalore along the coast.⁶² These chiefs were called ‘Kulur Kaṇantāya Balalas.’ Their territory comprised Pangimogara, Paḍukōḍi, Kāvūru, Kungatabailu, Marakaḍa and Kuḷūr.⁶³ The rebellion of the Kuḷūr chief against Virabhadra is confirmed by other documents of the Pangim Archives. He even demanded help from the Portuguese Viceroy and seems to have obtained it.⁶⁴

Condegre (The balala of). This name seems to be much changed from its original form. One would think that it stands for Konnāra. The chiefs of the latter place were called ‘Paṇipila Konnāra Kings’. They ruled over a portion of the Karkala Taluka. They seem to have been independent for some time; they were afterwards subdued by the Bhairava Kings of Karkala.⁶⁵

Daoguery (City of). Ikeri, the capital of the Nāyaks of this name.

Doltady (The balala of). Could this be Dolpādi, one of the divisions of the Edambūr Balalas of the Uppinangady Taluka?⁶⁶

Ermala (The balala of). Yermala, 18 miles north of Mangalore. There is still a balala in this place.

Guercopa (The Queen of). Gersopa in North Kanara, the capital of a rather large Jaina Kingdom, on the southern bank of the river Śaravate, now totally destroyed. The Kingdom of Gersopa undoubtedly offered a good prey to the covetousness of the Ikeri Nāyak, since the best and the greatest quantity of pepper

⁵⁷ Della Valle, o. c., pp. 352-353.

⁵⁸ Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, II, p. 451.

⁵⁹ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 418; Hegde, o. c., pp. 184 and 191.

⁶⁰ Della Valle, o. c., p. 316.

⁶¹ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 419; Hegde, p. 190.

⁶² Cf. Hegde, o. c., p. 211.

⁶³ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 389.

⁶⁴ From the Viceroy to the King, Goa, February 20, 1630, Pangim Archives, *Monções do Reino*.

⁶⁵ Aygal, o. c., p. 360; Hegde, pp. 188, 190, 201 and 210.

⁶⁶ Aygal, o. c., p. 403.

the Portuguese got in India came from Gersopa;⁶⁷ but he did not march on Gersopa till invited by the lover of the Queen, who, on the other hand, had allied herself with the Portuguese.⁶⁸ The war seems to have commenced somewhat in 1606; for a letter of the Portuguese King to his Viceroy, dated January 16th, 1607, already speaks of this war.⁶⁹ Venkatāpa conquered the kingdom, annexed it to his own and captured the Queen as prisoner⁷⁰ "and for more secure keeping that State in his power" adds Pietro della Valle, "caus'd the City and Royal Palace of Garsopa to be destroyed, so that at this day that lately flourishing City is become nothing but a Wood, Trees being already grown above the ruins of the Houses."⁷¹ This queen died prisoner in a fort of the Ikeri State.⁷² Her name was Bhaira Dēvi. She seems to be the same queen above referred to in Ancola. The ancient name of Gersopa was Kshēmapura.⁷³

Gololer (The balala of). Not identified.

Guedumardady (The balala of). This name sounds like Kidumardādy, but cannot be identified.

Gunbia (The king of). Kumbha, 20 miles south of Mangalore. From the railway the ruins of an old fort are still to be seen. The king of this place, named according to Pietro della Valle, Ramo-Nato-Ari (Ramanatha Adi), married a daughter of the queen of Ullāl. Their son Bala Rairu (Bala Rairu) was supposed to be the second successor of Ullāl.⁷⁴

Hebery (The balala of). Hebri. These balalas ruled over Hebri, Balinge, Kachūru, Jāra, Kerebettu, in the Karkala Taluka. They were connected by marriage with the balalas of Kaup.⁷⁵

Herar (The balala of). No possibility of identifying this name. First of all Herar seems to be a mistake for Herūr. There are two places with this name which might possibly be meant :—

1. *Heruru*, ruled over by the Kaup Marda Heggade, in the Udipi Taluka.⁷⁶
2. *Hirur*, in the Hāngal Taluka, Dharwar District.⁷⁷

Hiretor (The balala of). Not identified.

Idalcão. Portuguese corruption of the word Adil Shah, meaning therefore the Sultan of Bijapur.

Mallor (The balala of). Three places may be meant by this name :—

1. Mullūr. These balalas belonged to the Bangher Royal Family and ruled over Kaval-māgne, Beltangady-māgne, Pagiradka-māgne, Sishila-māgne, at the foot of the Ghats.⁷⁸

⁶⁷ Della Valle, o. c., II, p. 221; Garcia de Orta, *Tratado delas Drogas*, p. 24.

⁶⁸ Della Valle, o. c., II, pp. 218-220.

⁶⁹ Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 74.

⁷⁰ *Sivatatavaratnakara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 344.

⁷¹ Della Valle, o. c., II, p. 220.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 219.

⁷³ *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 69, para. 120.

⁷⁴ Della Valle, o. c., II, p. 318.

⁷⁵ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 414.

⁷⁶ Aygal, o. c., p. 417.

⁷⁷ *Carnata-deśa Inscriptions*, I, p. 144, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, part 2, p. 43C.

⁷⁸ Cf. Hedge, o. c., p. 208.

2. Mullūr, in the Karkal Taluka.⁷⁹

3. Mullūr, in the Kappa-māgne, 10½ miles south of Uḍipi.⁸⁰

Maṇipary (The balala of). Maṇipura, in the Uḍipi Taluka, one of the centres of the Kaṭṭupadi Dore Balalas.⁸¹

Mayzur (The king of). This seems to be the Raja of Mysore. Probably Venkaṭapa had encroached upon the Mysore territory though no record of this fact is hitherto known.

Modicar (The balala of). This sounds like Mudicāru or Mudikēru. The latter place is now called Mudgere or Mudagere, the capital of the Mudagere Taluka, in the Mysore State.

Mudoly (The balala of). Two places may be meant by this name :—

1. Muduri. These balalas were chieftains under the Bangher Rajas.⁸²

2. Muduly. This was one of the little principalities under the Bangher Rajas of Mandavar.⁸³

Mudrady (The balala of). Mudrādi. These balalas ruled over Shivapura, Mudradi, Kabbinaḷe, Vāranga and Paḍukuduru, in the Karkala Taluka. They were Jainas.⁸⁴

Mutur (The balala of). Doubtful :—

1. There is one Mudur in the Hangal Taluka, Dharwar District.⁸⁵

2. The balalas of Maṇel, in the Mangalore Taluka, had Muttūr as one of their centres, the other centres being Amunge, Uḷipāḍi, Kaṭṭemara, Kirāle, Niḍḍōḍi and Mangāge.⁸⁶

Nelēbor (The balala of). Nidambur. These balalas ruled over Shivalḷi, Kadekēru, Kidiyūru, Ambalpāḍy, Muduniḍambūr, Puttūru, Koḍavūru, Baḍaganīḍiyuru, Tenkanidiyuru, Kelarakabeṭṭu and Tonase, all in the Uḍipi Taluka. They were originally Jainas, though afterwards became followers of Madhva.⁸⁷

Nerēguy (The king of). Nēreñki, called now Halenēreñki, or old Nēreñki. These balalas were called Nēreñki Chavadi Hegde and ruled over Halenēreñki, Ālangāru, Rāmakunga, Ālantāya, Hoṇālu, Gōḷitaṭṭu and Basatura in the Uppinangadi Taluka, South Kanara. They were Jainas.⁸⁸

Olala (The Queen of). Ullāl, three miles south of Mangalore. The name of this Queen was Abbaka Dēvī Chautar according to Pietro della Valle⁸⁹, and she seems to have been Abbaka Dēvī III.⁹⁰ She was married to the king of Bangher.

⁷⁹ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 390.

⁸⁰ Cf. Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, II, p. 232.

⁸¹ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 418.

⁸² Cf. Hedge, o. c., p. 211.

⁸³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 191, 201, and 207; Aygal, o. c., p. 414.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Part 2, p. 562.

⁸⁶ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 390.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 419; Hedge, o. c., pp. 190 and 200.

⁸⁸ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 411.

⁸⁹ Della Valle, o. c., II, p. 311.

⁹⁰ Aygal, o. c., p. 288.

This kingdom was always ruled by women. This queen, defeated by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, figures prominently in the Tuluva—Portuguese relations.⁹¹

Palpare (The king of). Pālpāre, in South Coorg. In 117s4 the General Beṭṭarasa conquered this fort and neighbouring country for the Hoyāla King Ballāḷa II from the Changāḷva King Mahādēva.⁹² There is besides one Paḍu-Perār belonging to the balalas of Vāmanjūr. See *Umuzur*.

Pedānar (The balala of). This name cannot be identified. Could it be Pegāvar, in the Mangalore Taluka, the seat of some balalas.⁹³

Penabur (The balala of). Peṇambur in the Mangalore Taluka. These balalas ruled over Peṇambur, Taṇṇirubāmi, Hosabelṭṭu, Baikampāḷi and Kuḷai.⁹⁴

Quelanar (The people of). Not identified.

Saura (The queen of). Not identified. Could it be Soratūr, 12 miles south of Gadag ?⁹⁵

Serguo (The fortress of). Not identified.

Serra (The king of the). The Portuguese phrase 'O Rey da Serra' is to be rendered "the King of the Mountain." There were many petty chiefs in the Ghats; hence though such a king is often mentioned in ancient Portuguese chronicles and documents, yet I could not identify him hitherto. One thing nevertheless is clear: his kingdom was in the South of Kanara bordering on Malabar, for he is always mentioned together with the Zamorin of Calicut or other Rajas of Malabar. Can he be the chief of Mount D'Ely?

Sunda (The king of). Sunda, in the Sirsi Taluka, North Kanara District. It was in ancient times called Sudhapura⁹⁶. The chiefs of Sunda continued in their capital even after the defeat inflicted by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. The chief of Sunda was allied with the chief of Bilgi against Virabhadra Nāyaka, as the second document shows, and both seem to have been in secret intelligence with the Sultan of Bijapur.⁹⁷ The first document gives the name of the king of Sunda at this time as Raganata Naique, i.e., Raghunatha Nāyaka. When Hyder Ali took Sunda in 1764 the Raja took refuge in the Portuguese territory, and the Viceroy allowed him to live at Bandora, Ponda. His successor is still living there, known in Portuguese as 'El-Rey de Sundé'⁹⁸.

Tagrette (The balala of). Not identified.

Tomboso (The balala of). Could this be Tombattu in South Kanara.⁹⁹

Umuzur (The king of). Umunjūr or Vāmanjūr, in the Mangalore Taluka. This principality included Tiruvailu, Boḍantila, Ulāya-Betṭu, Muḷūr, Mūdu-Perār and Paḍu-Perār. The chiefs were Jains and seem to have been somewhat connected

⁹¹ Cf. Della Valle, o. c., pp. 311-319; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, pp. 536 and 533-534; II, p. 41, 117 and 199.

⁹² *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hs, 20.

⁹³ Cf. Aygal, o. c., p. 387.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁹⁵ Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, part 2, p. 504.

⁹⁶ Buchanan, *Journey*, III, p. 211.

⁹⁷ Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 158.

⁹⁸ *Aragão Descrição geral e Historica*, III, p. 24. (Lisbon, 1880).

⁹⁹ Cf. Hedge, o. c., p. 197.

with the Chautar kings.¹⁰⁰ Pietro della Valle speaks of this chief as one of the feudatories of Venkatāpa Nāyaka, to whom he paid yearly tribute of about 800 *pagodas* (*varāhas*). The total yearly revenue of his state was 2,000 *varāhas*. He says, that he is styled Omgū Arsa or the king of Omgū, his name being Ramo Rau, (Rāma Rao).¹⁰¹

Vitala (The balala of). Vithala twenty miles north-east of Kāsargode. It seems that their title was not 'balala' but 'rāja,' and sometimes they were also called 'Baivāsa Heggade' of Vithala. Their territory was called the 'two thousand śīme of Vithala.' They were originally feudatories to the Bangher kings, and their principality included Vithala, Koḷanādu, Māni and Sāletore, in the Uppinangadi Taluka.¹⁰²

Some Unknown Dealings between Raghoba and the Portuguese.

(By Panduranga Pissurlencar.)

It is well known that on the 1st of March 1776 the East India Company made peace with the government of Poona, abandoning the cause of the Peshwa Raghoba Dada and stipulating through Colonel Upton that the English should not give him any help.

Raghoba finding himself without the assistance of the English, and fearing that they might by treachery and surprise hand him over to Madhav Rao availed himself of the help of the Portuguese and asked the chief of the Portuguese navy Joze Sanches de Brito, when he was sailing to Surat in March 1776, to receive him in the ship and take him to the capital of Goa. The Portuguese admiral however very sagaciously refused to comply with his request in spite of offers of lacs of rupees that were made to him, suggesting to him that if he left his army which still followed him, it would join the enemy's rank.

Raghoba wrote then to the Governor of Daman asking him to give him hospitality in that place and also wrote to the Portuguese Viceroy in April 1776 asking the help of troops, ammunition, war material and refuge in Daman, promising in exchange to grant to the Portuguese Government the territories of the North and some *Parganas* near Daman.

The chief intermediary in these negotiations between Raghoba and the Portuguese was the Director of the Portuguese Factory in Surat, Jeronimo Ribeiro Neves, who on the 1st of April 1776 wrote to the Governor of Daman Sebastiao de Azavedo e Brito the following letter :

" Yesterday at 9 p.m. there came to me Ramachandra Rao Naraen and Apaji Ramachandra, on behalf of Raghoba who seeing that the English Com-

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Hedge o. c., p. 199 ; Aygal, o. c., p. 319.

¹⁰¹ Della Valle, o. c., II, pp. 305-306.

¹⁰² Cf. Hedge, o. c., pp. 201 and 211 ; Aygal, o. c., p. 365.

pany made peace with his enemies, breaking the promises it had made he did not want to accept the offer made to him, but would continue the war to the last, for which he seeks anxiously the alliance and help of the State (Portuguese Government) and sends envoys to Goa, and what he intends to do now at once is to enter with his army in the Praca of Damaun for which the agents, above mentioned, write to your Excellency the letter included herein, and they assure me that one of them is going to the camp to-day, so that Raghoba may write to your Excellency to-day asking the required permission, regarding which your Excellency shall decide what is convenient and will redound to the glory of the State, and inform me what reply I should give to the agents to whom I have promised utmost urgency and who are anxiously desiring it."

The letter which the agents of Raghoba wrote to the Governor of Damaur, dated 2nd April 1776, reads thus :

" We Apaji Ramachandra and Ramachandra Naraen send this with our *salams*, keeping good health and expecting you will communicate to us the news of your good health. It is true that among all the nations wearing the hat, the Portugese are the most powerful, their professions just and finally it is well known that their protection is firm to whom it may be extended. Presently the English have left the cause of the Most Happy Dada Raghunath Rao Pant Pradhan, which fact being informed to him he desires to come to Damaun with his army, expecting you will afford him a welcome and writing to the Viceroy in Goa to send to Damaun from Goa 3,000 men both white and black, 2 thousand guns, 20 pieces of artillery, bombs, gunpowder, bullets and other war material, with which marching from Damaun to Poona to punish the warring relation, you will earn the glory, the prosperity of the Most Happy as your own, for with this advantage your possession of the jurisdiction of Bassein and other territories which formerly were owned by the Sarcar will be returned to you and besides this he will give you a price as deserved. By the order of the said Dada, in order to know your reply we communicate this matter to the Director of Surat Mr. Jeronimo, through whose advice this letter is sent and who will also write to you in Damaun and also to Goa to allow the said Dada to remain in Damaun and send from Goa the war material. We expect that reply will come soon to us and also to Dada and to the Director. We hope that pending the reply from Goa you will permit the said Dada and his army to come to Damaun and then obtain permission from Goa. If you perform everything as I have described, you and his Majesty shall be of great utility. Send the reply soon, and let there be no delay and as soon as the reply comes, Dada with his army will come to Damaun within a day."

On the 8th of April the Director of the Portuguese factory of Surat received in reply the letter of the Governor of Damaun dated 3rd of April granting the necessary permission to Raghoba on condition that " he shall stop on hills of Parnel near the river, in order that his army may have water

and that he shall bring all the food that may be necessary to his army during the time he will reside there." Raghunath Rao agreed to this condition.

"I think however," wrote the Director of the factory in his letter to the Viceroy dated 13th April 1776, "that he is not positively determined to pass to Damaun but he wants to be certain of this hospitality, to take refuge in case the army of Poona pursues him with superior forces."

In fact, on the 29th April the same Director wrote to the Viceroy: "On the 16th instant Raghunath Rao gave me notice that next day he was raising his camp and was marching to the vicinity of Damaun, in order to avoid meeting the army of Poona which was approaching; that the English chief and the Colonel commanding the expedition, had come on the same day to offer him refuge in the city or in the fort, entering only with two hundred men, but he refused this offer on account of insufficient security he can have in Surat and his want of faith in the English; and remembering that his enemy might harass him in the vicinity of Damaun and reduce to the extreme necessity of taking refuge inside the same Praca, he desired that the Governor should promise him and some men that accompanied him, security and extend to him all the due courtesys.

On the 18th, he informed me that he would have great satisfaction, if at his arrival the Governor gave him a company of Europeans for his body guard, all of which I communicated to the Governor by letters sent with confidential man of Raghunath Rao who sent a person to inspect the place which would be given to him for encampment and assure himself of the promises of the Governor.

On the 17th arrived two patamars from Bombay, and it was at once known that the English troops which were in Dambose ready to embark, were returning to the city. On the same day, the English chief and the Colonel Commander of the expedition went to the camp of Raghunath Rao who informed me at once that they had come to offer him the same alliance and help as they had done before, promising to bring the English troops to his side, asking to be excused for having abandoned him thoughtlessly, and in token of friendship they asked Raghunath Rao to order the artillery salute; he also says that he has received letters from the Governor and the General Council of Bengal, in which they showed themselves to be dissatisfied with the treaty with which Colonel Upton had made and were desirous of renewing the old alliance. The confidante of Raghunath Rao assured me on his part, that in the uncertainty about the resolution which you would take with regard to his demands, he would be in the necessity of availing himself of the English much against his wish. But as soon as he has the certainty that you will help him, he leaves alone the English at once, about which he has no scruples whatever, as they showed the example first, and this he brings to your notice, being in firm agreement with all that his agents will say. I took advantage of this occasion to persuade him, that the best proof he could give you of his good intentions, was to hand over to me the *sanads* of the

territories of the North, which I had a good chance of sending to you by this frigate, but this dealing was not effective, he having sent to me the propositions which he intends making and offers to the State, recommending that I should communicate them to you, which I do separately, and he asks a reply quite urgently to enable him to know what course to choose.

On the 27th Raghunath Rao informed me that the person whom he had sent to Damaun to inspect the locality which the Governor had fixed for his encampment, had arrived with his letter and he is satisfied and disposed to follow the instructions of the said Governor, which are to take the fort of Parnel and grant us the villages which formerly belonged to the jurisdiction of Damaun: the said Governor promises him that whenever he may want or necessity may compel him, he will go to receive him and will give him a company of grenadiers for his journey. He (Raghunath Rao) thinks he will not be able to take the fort above referred to, without the help of Damaun, not having any doubt to grant it along with the villages stipulated, and he assures me that he will hand over the *sanads* to the Governor, when he will come to him on his first visit, he however does not declare when he is going to start (for Damaun) and it seems to me that he is not going unless he receives a favourable reply from your Excellency or is compelled by the enemy. Raghunath Rao wishes that I should go to his camp to speak to him and to accompany him to Damaun; but I excused myself to do so, not to excite any suspicion among the English, and even then I am afraid they may have some knowledge of it."

The above referred

Propositions of Raghunath Rao and of his Diwan Sadashiv Ramachandra were the following:

I.

Wants 1,000 European soldiers, 2,000 natives and sepoy, 500..... and 15 pieces of artillery and 5 mortars, with competent officials, and commanded by chiefs of great ability and experience, bringing with them all kinds of belongings, ammunition of war that is necessary for them. The State will make an account of the pay and all other expenses and will adjust the amount which Raghunath Rao will have to pay every month, which will take effect from the time the expedition starts up to his entry into Poona, for which he shall reserve the income of various districts, and if there be delay in collecting he shall pay in ready money. The said expedition must disembark in Daman or wherever it may be convenient to join the troops of Raghunath Rao and he will immediately give an elephant to carry the standard and another one to the Commander of the Expedition, to whom he will give a donation suitable to his merits and to the other officials, palanquins, horses, carriages, etc., according to their rank.

II.

In recognition and gratification of this help, he promises to cede for ever to the Portugese nation the rights and dominion over all the lands that were

taken by the Mahrattas on the northern coast and if some of them be in the possession of the English Company, he undertakes to give others producing an equal income, selected by both parties, and as soon as the Portugese troops arrive to help him, he will grant the respective *sanads*.

III.

The State shall make an offensive and defensive alliance with Raghunath Rao, and the enemy of either shall be considered and treated as common to both parties and if Raghunath Rao need more help from the State for any war with an Asiatic power, it shall be given to him, on payment of all expenses and being victorious he shall grant more territories.

IV.

In the Portugese dominions no refuge should be given to the Mahratta deserters, and the same shall be done by Raghunath Rao with the Portugese fugitives, at least, till both parties do not consent to this.

V.

Should any Portugese ship be wrecked on the coast of the Mahratta State, every assistance shall be given to save the cargo which should be returned to its real proprietor on payment of reasonable expenses. The same shall be done by the Portugese with the Mahratta ships which may be wrecked on the Portugese coast.

VI.

In everything that relates with the Government of Raghunath Rao and the Marathas, the Portugese shall not interfere.

VII.

All dealings of the State with Raghunath Rao shall be through his Dewan Sadashiv Ramachandra who shall send his turban to the Captain General, and the latter shall send him his hat in token of a firm and good alliance.

VIII.

When the State owned the territories of the North it seems that there were certain concessions to the Desais, and it being so the same should be made over to the Dewan; if not, the concession of a village should be given to the honour of his family and he should be permitted to have in Goa a house and gardens, etc.

The Government of Goa gives the following reply to the articles of capitulation of Raghunath Rao and his Dewan Sadashiv Ramachandra :

To I.

That the State of his Majesty has at the present time observed neutrality in the wars in Asia, maintaining an alliance with the English Court, whose friendship is established by the most faithful king of Portugal by many treaties and in the same way with the House of Poona. That at present it shall maintain the same neutrality and alliance, and for this reason cannot render help with the troops that are asked, not having declared offensive war against any of the powers.

That the glory and greatness of the Most Faithful King and of his Majestic State is to help and protect the kings and the potentates of Asia without declaring war against the enemies of the Kings and Potentates referred to, but defend them, protect them and save from the power of their enemies. This is a public fact and well known to the whole of Asia for the great Nabob having waged war against the Kingdom of Canara, imprisoned his queen and died in prison, and when the kingdom of Sunda was conquered, the King took refuge in our Majestic State, lived there being treated with decency, guarded and with pay and subsidy, which the Most Faithful King ordered to be contributed annually which continued in the same way to be given to the successor and the son of the same king, being treated with all the honours of a king and at the same time the Majestic State maintains an alliance with the Nabob. That in the same way without any doubt the Governor and Captain General of the State promise to protect the most Happy (Raghoba) approving of what the Governor of Damaun has stipulated and promised to permit that his army may encamp in the territory of Damaun high up in the hill of Parnel near the Ribeira.

That in the Praca of Damaun the Most Happy can come every time he wants, it being allowed to him to enter with only 200 men.

That the Majestic State will order to fortify and guard with more people the said Praca of Damaun, and furnish it with more pieces of artillery and war material for the security and defence of the Most Happy (Raghoba).

That the said Praca being reserved to serve as the refuge of the Most Happy in order to free himself from the hands of his enemies,—an account of the allowance of the military men of the said Praca, and of the value of the war material and ammunition that will be sent new, will be made and according to the list signed by the Governor of that Praca, all dues shall be paid by the Most Happy at the beginning of every month to the Governor, giving notice to this court of the payments made.

To II.

That the promise is accepted.

To III.

That the reply is given in the first article that if the Most Happy conquers and grants to the Majestic State the territories of the Portugese which

were taken by the House of Poona, the Majestic State will have no doubt in making an offensive and defensive alliance with the Most Happy.

To IV.

That the promised returning to the Majestic State the territories of the North in possession of the House of Poona and others equivalent to those owned by the English Company, is approved.

To V.

The same reply.

To VI.

That it is approved.

To VII.

That all dealings shall be made through Sadashiv Ramachandra Dewan, that the Governor and Captain General of the State will send his hat, but that the turban that will be sent should be of the Most Happy and if it be of the Dewan the Secretary's hat will be sent.

To VIII.

That it is approved and is convenient.

Placing his trust on the permission of the Portuguese, Raghoba left Surat on the 10th August and arrived near Damaun on the 25th, as he himself says in his letter dated 3rd September 1776 written to the Portuguese Governor of Goa.

As the news that Raghoba was near Damaun reached Poona the Portuguese emissary in that Court Naraen Shenvi Dhume wrote on behalf of Poona Court to the governor of Damaun not to give him any help in view of the friendship that existed between the Portuguese and the Court of Poona. It was a protest.

Having gained the vicinity of Damaun, Raghunath Rao Peshwa asked the governor of the Praca the help of 400 men, 2 or 3 pieces of artillery and one mortar, to take the hill of Parnell and there to settle himself, granting in return of this help, which was not given, four *Praganas naeres* and two forts, around which lie the 4 *Praganas* above mentioned and which consisted of 156 villages which Raghoba had in his possession. This is stated in the letter of the Governor of Damaun written to the Viceroy on the 1st of September 1776. In this letter it is said:

“ Raghunath Rao asks me in case he is attacked by any powerful army he desires to be kept in this Praca (of Damaun) with twenty men and in a warship to go to your presence.”

The Portuguese authorities did not give him this help maintaining always an expectant attitude, inducing in this way the court of Poona to grant to the Portuguese some villages in Damaun producing an income of 12 thousand rupees. The negotiations of Raghoba continued during a long time with the object of establishing an alliance with the Portuguese, even to the extent of addressing to the Queen of Portugal a letter in November 1778 which was brought to Goa by an envoy of Raghunath Rao.

The Governor of Goa, D. Jose Pedro Camara, wrote regarding this affair, to Portugal on 22nd of December 1778: "In the conferences which I have continually had with the said envoy of Raghoba, he sufficiently affirms the mistrust that his Lord has, that the English may dominate him in the same way as the Nawabs of Bengal and of Surat, and not only with the object of avoiding this subjection but also of maintaining himself respected in the possession that he intends to have, he desires earnestly the help of our troops, an alliance with this State and protection from our August Sovereign."

NOTE.—This paper is entirely based on the correspondence preserved in the Portuguese Government archives at Nova Goa.

The Dalhousie—Phayre Correspondence, 1852-56.

(By D. G. E. Hall, M.A., I.E.S.)

In April 1852 a British Army landed at the Burmese port of Rangoon, and there began the second of the series of three Anglo-Burmese wars which together added to the Indian Empire its largest, and certainly its unique, province. The first war, ending with the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826, had resulted in the Kingdom of Ava losing to Great Britain the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim nearly all its sea frontage. The second war, which lasted only a few months, gave the British the Burmese Province of Pegu—once a Talaing Kingdom—and a strip of territory to the north of it extending to just beyond the towns of Myede and Toungoo. This new acquisition, called at the outset the 'Province of Pegu', although it stretched far beyond the limits of the Burmese province of that name, received as its first administrator Captain Arthur Phayre. This officer, the future historian of Burma,¹ was selected by Lord Dalhousie with unerring judgment against the claims of a much senior officer to be the first Commissioner of Pegu. He arrived at Rangoon in December 1852, before the war had officially ended, and so was entrusted, as Governor General's Agent, with the task of carrying through the negotiations for peace with the Burmese Government. Phayre was of not undistinguished parentage. His father had spent his active career in India. His mother was a daughter of the well-known publisher Ridgeway, a

¹ His *History of Burma*, a work of great merit, published in 1883, was for many years the standard work in English on this subject. It is now out of print and practically unobtainable.

woman of great talents, we are told,² " who instilled into the minds of her children a strong devotion to duty and religion ". He was forty years old at the time of his appointment, and had already seen much administrative service in Burma, where he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of the language and national character as marked him for high preferment.

It was Dalhousie's custom to keep in very close touch with his immediate subordinates; this was all the more necessary in Phayre's case because of the difficult and protracted negotiations for a peace treaty with the Burmese Government which continued until almost the end of Dalhousie's term of office in India. " I hope to hear from you regularly and confidentially," he wrote to the new Commissioner in one of his earliest letters.³ " You will find such correspondence a material aid to you; and I beg you to state your views and wishes to me at all times unreservedly." Phayre availed himself of this invitation to the full. The words with which he concluded his lengthy reply to this letter sounded the keynote of the correspondence that was to follow: " I trust this letter will not have been too tedious, but I shall continue to write of everything which I consider worthy of your Lordship's notice."⁴ So there grew up between them what Lord Dalhousie termed a ' private ' correspondence, but what would be now-a-days more correctly designated ' demi-official ', maintained with great regularity until the Governor General's departure from India in 1856. Much of it is of the nature of a personal explanation of items in the official correspondence passing between the two. There is a good deal of free expression of opinion such as would not find its way into official correspondence. These letters therefore are of especial interest in giving us an unobstructed view of the personality and policy of Lord Dalhousie, and they shed valuable light upon the relations between him as Governor General and the administrator of a new province: a subject of no little importance to the study of modern Indian administrative history.

Lord Dalhousie's letters to Phayre form a series eighty-two in number, the originals of which are now in the possession of the University of Rangoon. They were purchased together with Phayre's two-volume journal covering the years 1852-1859 from Messrs. Heffer of Cambridge. Previously they belonged to the late Sir George Forrest, who published articles containing extracts from them in the *Athenaeum*, 23rd November 1895 and 15th February 1896. He had bought the collection from a second-hand bookseller on the Quay at Dublin, who in turn had purchased it at an auction some years before⁵—presumably an auction of Phayre's effects after his death, but I have not yet been able to verify this.

Phayre's replies to Lord Dalhousie are in the famous collection of the latter's private papers, which he arranged and indexed personally before his death, and which is still a family possession. It will be remembered that in a codicil to his will he forbade the publication of any of his private papers

² Sir William Lee-Warner: *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, II, p. 7.

³ Dated Calcutta, 8th December 1852.

⁴ Dated Rangoon, 25th December 1852.

⁵ I am indebted to Sir William Foster of the India Office for this information.

until fifty years after his death. That period terminated eighteen years ago. So by kind permission of the present Earl of Dalhousie the History department of the University of Rangoon has been able to have Phayre's letters in this collection copied—the work has been done by Miss Anstey at the India Office⁶—and now we are in a position to publish the whole Dalhousie-Phayre correspondence, so soon as the work of editing has been completed.⁷

One extremely interesting feature of Phayre's letters is that enclosed with them is a series of letters received by him from a Scottish merchant, Thomas Spears by name, who from December 1853 onwards for several years was "Government Correspondent at the Court of Ava." Spears and a number of other British merchants at Amarapoora had been imprisoned and their property confiscated by Pagan Min, King of Burma, during the Second Burmese War. When early in 1853 the greedy and tyrannous Pagan was deposed by his half-brother Mindon Min, a man of high character, well-disposed towards the British, Spears and his compatriots were released, and Spears himself was soon in high favour at the Burmese Court. He became a sort of confidential adviser to Mindon Min, who was anxious to use him as a go-between in his dealings with the British.

Spears came to the notice of Phayre during the first negotiations for a treaty with Mindon Min that broke down before the middle of 1853 owing to the latter's refusal to sign a document ceding Burmese territory to a foreign power. Then, when the Burmese Government withheld his confiscated property, and Spears went to Calcutta to lay his case before the Governor General, Mindon Min made use of him to propose a quixotic plan for the solution of the treaty difficulty. It amounted to this, that the King of Burma was to agree to pay to the British within a fixed period an indemnity so enormous as to be entirely beyond his capacity to pay. If the sum were not paid within the specified time, the territory occupied by the British was to be forfeited to them. "The object as hinted or avowed in this extraordinary proposal", reported Phayre to his Chief,⁸ "was for the King to save his honour and to show that he had done his best to avert the disgrace of separating Pegu from the Burmese Empire".

Although Phayre considered the proposals ludicrous, he was so much impressed with the probity and good sense of Spears, when he met him on his way to Calcutta, that he recommended to Lord Dalhousie his appointment as British correspondent at the Burmese capital. Dalhousie had indeed urged Phayre to seek for some reliable source of information whence he could obtain "speedy, good and regular intelligence" of affairs at Amarapoora.⁹ This had become essential because of the anomalous situation that had arisen

⁶ This was arranged through the courtesy of Sir William Foster and Mr. Ottewill.

⁷ The correspondence and journal were made use of by Sir William Lee-Warner in writing Chapter I of Volume II of his life of Lord Dalhousie. But considerations of space and proportion rendered it impossible for him to do much more than indicate the richness of the soil that he scratched.

⁸ Phayre to Dalhousie, July 21st 1853. In his reply, dated August 1st 1853, Dalhousie dismissed it as "nonsense".

⁹ Dalhousie to Phayre, June 9th 1853.

between the British and the Burmese Government after the breakdown of negotiations, when neither side knew what move the other would make next, and all sorts of alarmist rumours were in the air. On the other hand he at first opposed the appointment of Spears in this capacity, fearing that as a British subject he "would be liable to outrage", and so might "involve this government in responsibilities"¹⁰:

No other suitable man could be found. For a time an Armenian named Jacob was tried, but a letter of his, the composition and spelling of which were alike a triumph,¹¹ forwarded to the Governor General, elicited from him the laconic reply: "I hope his intelligence is more correct than his spelling or we shall not have a good bargain. I will see Mr. Spears again".¹² So in the end Spears was appointed. The position was an unofficial one, but he was paid a regular salary of Rs. 250 a month with the promise that if his work were satisfactory, he would be awarded at the end of each year of service a lump sum bringing his monthly salary for that year up to Rs. 400.¹³

Spears amply justified his appointment. He retained the full confidence of Mindon Min, whom he immediately made aware of his new position and its duties. In fact the King heartily acquiesced in the arrangement. "He has given me full liberty to write anything I like and to whom I like", wrote Spears to Phayre.¹⁴ The only difficulties that arose were due to Mindon Min's inability to realise that Spears was not an official British representative through whom he could conduct his business with the Commissioner of Pegu or the Government of India. Apparently he discussed all matters of external policy privately with Spears before making any decision; and time and again he caused the canny Scot no little embarrassment by using him as a channel for expressing his opinions or making suggestions to the British authorities.¹⁵ This went so far that the Government of India deemed it advisable to remind Phayre that Spears must not be employed in any official matter to make representations to the Government of Ava or to act in any way apparently as an agent of the British Government.¹⁶ The rigidity of this rule, however, was wisely tempered in practice, since any attempt strictly to enforce it might have alienated Mindon Min by causing him to jump to the conclusion that the British attitude was stiffening against him. As it was, Spear's presence at the Burmese Court resulted in the speedy building up of friendly relations between Mindon Min and the British. As early as March 1854, indeed,

¹⁰ Same to same, August 1st 1853.

¹¹ Enclosure of letter of Phayre to Dalhousie, October 28th 1853.

¹² Dalhousie to Phayre, November 5th 1853.

¹³ Rangoon Secretariat File No. 6/1855.

¹⁴ Examples of this are given in my article entitled "New Light upon British Relations with King Mindon" in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, April 1928.

¹⁵ Rangoon Secretariat File No. 6/1855, Letter of Cecil Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to Major A. P. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu, dated Fort William, August 8th, 1855.

¹⁶ J. G. A. Baird: *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, p. 293.

Dalhousie could write home flippantly of the new situation: "There is perfect quiescence . . . Nay, the *entente cordiale* is becoming almost ludicrous". And notwithstanding the failure of all Dalhousie's efforts to secure a treaty recognising the cession of Pegu, and of all Mindon's to persuade the British to show their regard for him by evacuating it, British relations with the Court of Ava were re-established in 1854 and the ensuing period upon a more friendly footing than ever before. No small credit is due to Thomas Spears that this condition of affairs withstood the successive shocks of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, when Mindon Min's advisers assured him that the British hold upon India was doomed, and European adventurers were urging him to make a bold bid for the recovery of the ancient heritage of his house.

From the foregoing account of Spears the inference will readily be drawn that the information purveyed by him was of first-class importance. The originals¹⁷ or copies of all his letters were forwarded by Phayre to Lord Dalhousie as soon as they were received, and a regular system of despatch boats was established on the Irrawaddy—with the King's concurrence—for the better conduct of the correspondence. In March 1854 the Governor General wrote home delightedly from Calcutta: "We have already so improved communications that our last letter from Umerapoora was only 19 days old."¹⁸ He was equally delighted with the letters themselves. In the same month he wrote to Phayre: "I come now to Mr. Spears' budget from 3rd February to 7th March. They are full of interest and importance. Their intelligence is in the highest degree satisfactory and encouraging, and we have apparently found a very safe and sensible and judicious correspondent".¹⁹ This same praise he reiterates on several occasions in later letters. It is not surprising therefore to find that at the end of each year of his employment Spears was adjudged worthy to receive the promised lump sum that raised his salary to Rs. 400 a month.²⁰

These three series of letters, together with Phayre's journal,²¹ afford us an absorbingly interesting picture not only of British relations with Mindon Min, but also of the way in which the foundations of modern British rule were laid in the new Province of Pegu. Naturally the negotiations with the Court of Ava occupy a large place in the correspondence; but room is found for the discussion of many other subjects. In their very first exchange of letters Lord Dalhousie and Phayre both devote their chief attention to the plans for laying out the city of Rangoon and for the development of its port. With almost prophetic insight into the future Lord Dalhousie writes in his

¹⁷ Two of the originals are in Rangoon Secretariat File No. 9/1854.

¹⁸ Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

¹⁹ Dated Calcutta, March 29th 1854.

²⁰ Rangoon Secretariat Files Nos. 6/1855, 18/1856, 43/1858, 11/1859, and 40/1860.

²¹ This contains much interesting information sandwiched in between dull itineraries. It is the journal of a very busy man, who rarely had leisure to write up in it matters with which he had already dealt fully in his correspondence. So it has many tantalising gaps.

clear incisive style: "One point at Rangoon itself is of moment; the place will certainly gain importance as a port if at all. In that expectation it is of moment to provide that the river bank should be kept clear and with ample space for wharves, docks, godowns, etc., etc. Orders to that effect were issued originally. The impression I derived from a very cursory view of the bank when I was at Rangoon was that too little space had been reserved".²² Measures for the provision of roads, riverine communications, the electric telegraph and a postal system are discussed in detail, and we witness the progress in the construction of these essential amenities of modern civilization. Then there are such matters as the raising of a local corps, the establishment of a police force, operations against the notorious dacoit leaders, Myat Tun and Maung Gyi, the machinations of the mysterious French adventurer who styled himself 'General' D'Orgoni, and a host of other subjects too numerous to mention here.

We see the diplomatic Spears treading more delicately—and more successfully withal—than Agag, and the assiduous Phayre writing reports and suggesting ways and means. But the directing mind is that of Lord Dalhousie, with his amazingly clear grasp of each situation and his unhesitating choice of policy. His style is simple, direct and full of vitality. And sometimes there gleams the sparkle of a playful humour too rarely associated in our minds with the personality of the great proconsul. Let me close with a happy example of this. When in the early months of 1854 the Burmese were still haggling over the terms of the treaty that they never intended signing, Mindon Min brought up the fact that the new British boundary line passed through the district of Mindon, from which he derived his name. He begged that the boundary might be so adjusted as not to deprive him of any part of this district. In a private interview with Spears he said: "It is a district of little value and belonged personally to me when I was Prince, so I trust the English will not let so small a thing as that come between us. When I was a Prince, and now when I am a King, I have always been actuated by the most friendly spirit to the English, and it would be a poor return on their part if they would not give up so small a thing as that to oblige me".²³

Dalhousie replied to this: "If the King thinks that 'so small a thing' as a township should not stand in the way of friendship between the states, he should not let 'so small a thing' as signing what he has already agreed to stand in the way of a permanent friendship between the states. If the King thinks that I should make this concession of Mengdon Myo to him, I have the right to expect that he should make the far smaller concession of saying in writing what he has said orally many times" . . . "Bear in mind", he concludes, "that for the King it is" no song, no supper—no treaty, no Mengdon Myo".²⁴

²² Dalhousie to Phayre, 8th December 1852.

²³ Spears to Phayre, 7th March 1854.

²⁴ Dalhousie to Phayre, 29th March 1854.

Some Correspondence between Prince Shah Shuja and the Emperor Shah Jahan.

(By K. R. Qanungo, M.A.)

Muhammad Shah Shuja Bahadur, the fourth child and second son of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal, was born in the night of Sunday 18th Jamadi-ul-awal, 1025 H. at Ajmir (*Padshah-nama*, pt. 1, p. 392). Of all grandsons Jahangir loved him most and till the age of twelve Shuja, away from his parents remained constantly with the Emperor. He imbibed unconsciously all the virtues and vices of Jahangir which became more apparent in after life. He was every inch a prince and in mental and moral traits, tastes and predilections a happy mean between Dara and Aurangzib. Though younger he got his first *mansab* several months before Dara, and was invested with the nominal command over the southern Army operating against Bijapur (22nd *Safar*, 1043 H.) as a Commander of 10,000 *zat*, 5,000 *sawar*. About three years after he was succeeded in the Viceroyalty of the Deccan by his more energetic brother Aurangzib. When the fort of Qandahar came like a wind-fall into the hand of Shah Jahan through the treachery of Ali Mardan Khan in February, 1638 A. D., Shah Shuja was sent at the head of 20,000 troops to defend it against the rumoured invasion of the Persian King Shah Safi (in the first week of *Zilqada*, 1047 H. *ibid*, pt. 3, pp. 36-37). He obtained his first Viceroyalty of Bengal in the month of *Safar*, 1050 H. and his arms soon compelled many of half subdued frontier tribes to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor. On the 1st of Ramzan, 1051 H. five elephants which he had exacted as tribute from Morang Chiefs (of Assam?) were presented to Shah Jahan (*ibid*, pt. 3, p. 233, 278). Shuja, in one of the letters as we shall notice hereafter, boasts of this achievement. In the next Solar Birth-day gazette the Prince is given a lift of one thousand *sawar*, in total his rank being 15,000 *zat*, 10,000 *sawar* of which 6,000 was *do-áspáh*, *seh-áspáh*. (19th *Shawal*, 1051 H.; *ibid*, p. 281.)

Towards the close of the year 1051 H., Shuja was given, in addition, the *subah* Orissa (*ibid*, p. 283). After five years' successful administration he was recalled to the Court only when the affairs of Balkh and Badakshan assumed a threatening aspect owing to the intervention of Imam Quli Khan, the ruler of Turan and the covert hostility of Persia. From Kabul the Emperor despatched the order of recall to Shuja on the 3rd of *Sha'ban*, 1056 H., and Itiqad Khan, Nazim of *subah* Bihar was instructed to start at once from Patna to Bengal which was now added to his charge (*ibid*, p. 583). The Prince had the interview of the Emperor on the 24th *Rabi-us-sani*, 1057 H. and remained at Court for about a year and a half (*ibid*, p. 680). At last in February, 1648 A. D., he was again appointed Viceroy of Bengal which he ruled uninterruptedly for seventeen years. Bengal the nursery of Shuja's ambition became also the tomb of his energy and the sepulchre of

his fortune. At the age of only 41 years when he entered the lists against Dara and Aurangzib to contest the Crown of Hindustan 'small things like *Chameli* flowers escaped his eyes'. (Sarkar's Aurangzib, Vols. I and II, p. 466.)

This tardy introduction has been found necessary to serve as a back-ground to some features of Shuja's administration of Bengal which his letters to Shah Jahan reveal. Some of these letters which form the subject matter of this paper have been preserved in a private collection entitled *Fayáz-ul-qáwanin* which is frequently referred to in Prof. Sarkar's History of Aurangzib. This paper aims at two-fold objects: first to throw some side-light on the career of Shuja; and secondly to test the historical authenticity of the curious collection of scattered and often undated letters ranging from the time of Humayun down to Farrukh Siyar. We the product of a cynical and scientific age who begin our enquiry with doubting our very masters—should discuss the second point first.

As regards the history of the manuscript the original one belonged to Nawab Muhammad Ali Hasan Khan of Lucknow. A full copy of this Ms. was made for late William Irvine (Ms. no. 416), and Prof. Sarkar's—is an authenticated transcription from the Irvine Ms. The compiler Mullah 'Ayaz Thanasari in the preface says that, out of a huge collection of letters and historical materials, he made in 1134 H. (during the reign of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar) this selection of letters divided into three *daftar*s for the benefit of the learned. Among his sources he mentions some of the well-known Court histories of the Timurides, but evidently evades disclosing how he or his family came by the official letters not traceable in those histories. Nevertheless these letters are not imaginary and pseudo-historical epistles but authentic documents warranted by reliable authorities, such as the Padsha-nama of Abdul Hamid Lahori and others. Some slight difference in dates or very insignificant details cannot take away their historical character, I take two letters of Shuja for historical treatment, and in their translation the non-essential part such as most humble prostrations, benedictions and customary thanks giving for every little favour real or imaginary, would be omitted. For the curious the Persian text will be given in full at the end.

Letter ('arzasht) of Prince Shuja to the Emperor Shah Jahan.

Taslims and congratulations on the world-illuminating *Nau-roz* (New Year's day).....

The *farman* (Letter Patent) of my appointment to the *subah* of Orissa has reached very punctually. Thanks to Your Majesty, the Qibla of the two worlds, for having exalted this servant by an increase of 1,000 *sawar*. Probably the news of transfer has reached Shah Nawaz Khan. It is desirable that after transfer he should not stay there any longer because his high-handedness may cause disorder in the province and injury to the peasantry. As this humble servant does not like that His Majesty's territory should

suffer in any way, I may be permitted to take over the charge of that province before the beginning of the *Rabi* (winter) harvest. I hope that the governmental order should be issued to Shah Nawaz Khan to the effect that he shall hand over the *subah* (Orissa) to my officials before the winter harvest so that I may promptly assume the custody and possession of it.

As I have been instructed to recall Muhammad Zaman Teharani from Dacca and put him in charge of this *subah* (Orissa) I have put in his place Mir Abul Qasim as the commandant of Jahangirnagar, and despatched a fresh contingent of 500 horse to strengthen his hands in that quarter. As regards the equipment of the flotilla [*Nawarah*] the above-mentioned Mir has been written to (Irvine Ms: 371; f. 164 b.).

The following passage of Abdul Hamid Lahori leaves little doubt about the genuineness of the above letter: On the 15th *Zilhijjah*, 1051 H. the *subah* of Orissa was given to Prince Shuja and he was ordered to send Muhammad Zaman Teharani to take charge of that *subah*. Shah Nawaz Khan, the dismissed Nazim (*Nazim ma'zul*) of that *subah* was commanded to leave that *subah* before the arrival of Muhammad Zaman and take charge of the *Sarkar* of Jaunpur which was granted to him. (*Padshah-nama* pt. 4, p. 283.)

2. Letter of Shuja to the Emperor Shah Jahan.

“ The farman reached in very proper time. You have written that four horses are being sent with Jafar as gifts to me; of these one is *Lal Be-baha* (the chief of the Royal stable at present?), one an *Irqi*, and two others *Turki*. And I understand that you are going to Lahore and, after halting there for a few days, will start for Kashmir.

I had represented to the Court that the climate of Rajmahal does not agree with me, and so I begged for a *pargana* of the *subah* of Bihar in the neighbourhood of Garhi (Sakri Gali). What to speak of one *pargana*? Had I so desired you would have given me in exchange of Bengal and Orissa, the whole *subah* of Bihar with Rohtas.

As all my children are here with me and, owing to the bad climate of this place, they are ailing much and are growing worse every day, I humbly submit that, if Patna be given to me, I may keep my children there during the rains which is the season of a variety of protracted maladies. Although all events and accidents happen according to God's will and what is decreed must occur in any place, it is probable that if these children are kept in that part of the country, away from the apparent cause of these diseases—namely the unsuitable climate of Bengal, they will be saved from the itches (?*Dad-o-khaj*) which are contracted here owing to bad water and unwholesome air of this country.

Since I have assumed charge of these tracts the manner in which I have laboured for the improvement of the country, has been reported to you in despatches. I hope the *subah* of Patna should also be given to me The

chiefs of Morang and Kachar who have not paid *peshkash* (tribute) to any predecessor of mine as Governor of Bengal—have all repeatedly professed obedience and goodwill and behaved loyally. They have presented several elephants which are being forwarded to the Court. I hope they will meet acceptance.

As promotion of cultivation and the happiness of all people are known to be the particular objects of Your Majesty's attention (approval?), I have during this time made such efforts to improve the cultivation and the reclamation of the country that both the *subahs* are showing every day signs of such labour. The condition of the *subah* of Orissa was bad owing to the oppression of the previous governor. As I have tried my utmost to improve the administration of these two *subahs*, if Patna be also given to me, I shall, after leaving these children of tender age at that place, devote myself to the conduct of affairs in these *subahs* and hold myself responsible for their welfare. . . . same complaints about the health of his children . . .

If it is considered that one Governor is unequal to the management of these three *subahs*, I shall be glad to have Patna in exchange of Orissa A verse.

(Irvine Mss., f. 165 b; f. 166 b; f. 167 b.)

In support of the authenticity of the above letter the following passages from the Padshah-nama may be quoted:

1. On the New Year's Day, 21st Muharram, 1055 H. Jafar (mentioned in the letter), son of Alawardi Khan was appointed to Bengal. With him was sent as gifts for Prince Shuja and two special horses from the Royal stable, one of Arab breed named *Mahbub-i-Jahan* and the other of Iraq breed both with gold saddles. (*Padshah-nama*, pt. 4, p. 413.)

Here it is important to notice that the printed text of Padshahnama misses some words in the passage; "*U masuhub-i-u ba-padshahzada bakht bidār Shuja Bāhādur u (?) do asp az tubilah-i-khasah eke Arabi, etc.,*". It is quite likely that after Bahadur the words "*do asp Turki*" have been omitted in the text in print. These horses were sent from the city of Sarhind where the *Nauroz* was celebrated. The Emperor halted here on his way to Kashmir *viā* Lahore, as the letter implies. Shah Jahan reached Lahore on 1st *Safar*, 1055 H. and after 4 days' halt resumed his journey to Kashmir, on the 6th of that month (*Pad.*, iv, 414). Of the elephants alluded to in Shuja's letter, three of these, along with other rarities of Bengal were presented before the Emperor on 16th Jamadi-ul-awwl in Kashmir¹ (*ibid*, iv, 426).

The special horse is called *Mahbub-i-Jahan* in the *Padshahnama* while in Shuja's letter it is named *Lāl Be-beha*, (the Peerless Ruby). The version of

¹ That Shuja exacted tribute from the Morang chiefs was no vain boast. "On the 1st Ramzan, 1051 H. five elephants which Prince Shuja Bahadur had levied as tribute from the Morang chiefs [*marzuban-i-Morang*], and forwarded to the Court, as presents, were shown (*Pad.* IV, p. 278).

the letter in this case is clearly wrong. In the *Padshāhnama* there is a detailed notice of the pedigree and the incidents of purchase of *Lāl Be-beha* by Shah Jahan. This, with 5 other horses, was brought to the Emperor by Ali Akbar, a Bussora merchant, domiciled in Surat, on the 20th of *Ramzan*, 1056 (h 607) i.e., about a month after Shuja's recall from Bengal. This horse is also mentioned by Waris long after this as the head of the special horses of the Royal stable. So *Lāl Be-beha* was certainly not given to Shuja.

In one letter Shuja protests his great loyalty and shows great anxiety to be sent to Qandahar against the Persians when it was rumoured that Safi Mirza was marching from Qāzvin to Mashad with a design upon Qandahar. Shuja seems to have been quite alive to his political and economic interests, though apparently slumbering in the sleepy nook of Bengal, as one of his every lengthy despatches to Shah Jahan implies. He wants an absolute hand in the affairs of the *subahs* and complete authority over subordinate officials who were nominated by the Emperor. Like Amrbin-al-As he refuses to hold the cow by the horn for another person to milk it. He had no respite even in far off Bengal from vigilance of his father who urges the Prince to make frequent tours through his province. Shuja writes: "another order of your Majesty is this: that I who am now staying at Akbarnagar [Rajmahal] should make a tour according to the following programme: Akbarnagar to Burdwan and thence to Medinipur (which is the frontier of Orissa), where I am to recall any official whose removal appears necessary, and settle the *Mahals*; from Medinipur I am to tour to Jahanabad (Birbhum), Satgam, Hugli, *Makhsusabad*, and back to Rajmahal". Here it is worthy of notice that had this letter been a forgery of the time of Farrukh Siyar, the writer would have, perhaps used *Murishdabad* by which name *Makhsusabad*, was, and even now known to the people.

From another letter of Shuja to the Emperor it appears that Shah Jahan was anxious to give Balkh, Badakshan and Trans-Oxiana with *Samarqand* which was not his own to any of his sons who would be willing to live there. Shuja cleverly evades the main point, and grows eloquent in condemning the reluctance of some and half-hearted action of others. He writes in reply "Whatever work shall be entrusted to me I shall exert to the utmost for its accomplishment, and through the good fortune of your Majesty, Trans-Oxiana and Khurasan which were the hereditary dominion of our illustrious house, may come back to your Majesty's possession. What unwillingness can there be in carrying out Your Majesty's Command? " Shuja was perhaps a man of liberal culture and sometimes quotes the half-heretical physician-poet Hakim Sanai. Though facile with pen and clever at bluffs, Shuja was rated at his true worth by his shrewd father whose justice or policy placed him on an equal footing with his younger brother Aurangzib as a *Mansabdar*. But jealousy which each entertained against the other—was not allowed to mar political interests and all the three brothers were all love and affection as long as Dara stood between them and the throne of Delhi.

هوال مستعان


عرضداشت بادشاهزاده شاه شجاع که بصاحبقران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی فوشته تسلیمات مبارکباد نوروز جهان افروز بتقدیم رسانیده و فزونی عشرت و خرمی ذات اقدس اعلی که سلامت و خورسندی مریدان عقیدت سرش بلکه حیات و فلاح عالمی بآن منوط و مربوط است از راهب العطایا مسئلت نموده بموقف عرض استادها و حواشی سریر عرش نظیر - میفرسند - فرمان قضا جریان مرحمت تبیان که در باب خدمت اردیسه بدستخط خاص همایون که جانها ازاد کان بهر حرف احظ بندگی داده رقم یافته بود در خرب ترین رقتی عزوررد ارزانی داشت بقدم سرشتافته مراسم استقبال بجا آورده بوصول این مرحمت کهری جبهه ساء آستان سپاس گوی گشت و تارک سر بلندی باسماں سود اضافه هزار سوار که ازوررے بنده نوازی مرحمت شده بود موجب افزونی فخر و مباهات گردید قبله در جهانی سلامت - احتمال قریب آنست که خبر تغییر صوبه بشاه نواز خان رسیده باشد هرگاه بعد از رسیدن خبر تغییر مدتی درانجا باشد یقین که باعث دست اندازی او در ملک و خرابی رعایا میگردد چون پیوسته این مرید میخواهد که ملک بادشاهی از خدمات جزو و بیداد و آسیب خرابی و بر همزدگی محروس ماند مناسب آن میداند که خدمت صوبه مذکور از ابتداء فصل ربیع اوای نیل باین مرید متعلق باشد - امیدوار است که فرمان جهان مطاع عالم مطیع بدین مضمون که صوبه از ابتداء فصل مذکور بگماشتگان این غلام حواله نماید باسم شاه نواز خان عز صدور یابد - تابزودی محال مذکوره متعلق بحراسه اینمرید گردد و دست اندازی متغلبان بی انصاف از رقبه عجزه زیر دست کوتاه شود - چون حکم قضاتقان صادر شده که محمد زمان طهرانی از دهها که طلب نموده بخدمت آنصوبه تعیین نماید بنابران بمجرد رسیدن حکم محمد زمان مذکور را از انجا طلب نموده حراسه جهانگیر نگر را بدستور میر ابوالقاسم مقرر ساخت و بتازگی پانصد سوار دیگر تعیین جهانگیر نگر نمود که از کو مکیان میر ابوالقاسم بوده مراسم خدمت آنحدود بتقدیم میفرسانیده باشند و در باب سرانجام تواره بمیر مشارا الهیه نوشته شد سالیه عالم ابدی اتصال باد -

عرضداشت شاه شجاع بهادر بصاحب قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه

جبهه سائي استان خلافت اشيان سلطنت مكن را پيرائه سربلندي دنيا و نصرت دانسته بعرض فرمان پذيران بازگاه گردون اشتباه ميرساند كه فرمان مرحمت نشان عذابت علوان كه نگاشته خامه مريد نوازي برد در بهترين ساعتی زود ارزاني داشت سجدهات بندگانتي تقدیم نموده بدریافت این مژشور كرامت و افضال سربلند گردید مرقوم كلك در سلك بود كه چهار اسپ خاصه یکی زادر بغل بی بها نام كه این اسپ در این مدت با این مريد مرحمت شده با يك اسپ عراقي و در تركي مصحوب جعفر فرستادیم و ما بمباركي روانه دارالسلطنه لاهوریم چند روز درانجا بوده مترجه كشمیر بی نظیر می شویم قبله و كعبه دینی و دنیوی سلامت اگرچه سپاس عراطف و مكرمت مرشد بحق و بادشاه مطلق مذل شكر و سپاس نعمای الهی لاتعد و لاتحصی است **Q** اگرچه خامه یکی یا هزار برگزید * چه حد كه شكر خداوندگار برگزید

لیکن بقدر طاقت و توان در مراسم سپاس این عنایت نمایان و مرحمت بیکران کوشیده سجدهات و تسلیمات بتقدیم رسانید نگارش یافته بود كه چون به سبب ناسازي هوای راج محل فدري التماس نموده بود كه يك پرگنه كه متصل كدهی باشد در صوبه پٹنه عنایت شود كه در برسات آنجا بوده باشد اگران فدري * بخراسته باشد عوض صوبه بنگاله و اردیسه صوبه پٹنه و غیره رهناس بار عنایت فرمائیم تا بیک صوبه چه رسد - صاحب و قبله حقیقی سلامت چون خانه زادان در این ملك بارجون آمده اند و از ناسازي آب و هوای اینجا در ایام صغر و هنگام رضاع هر روز بكوفت و المی گرفتار می باشند بنابراین معروض داشته بود كه اگر پٹنه باین مريد از بی اعتقاد مرحمت (باعتقاد مرحمت باین مريد) می شد خانه زادان در ایام برسات كه موسم هجوم بیماری های غیر متناهی است درانجا اقامت نمایند اگرچه جمیع رقائق و سوانح بمقتضای مشیت سبدهانه تعالی و آنچه شدنی است همه جا از ممكن قرة بفعل می آید لیکن از روی ظاهر بسبب ناگوار اند کی آب و هوای اینجا چنان ظاهر می شود كه اگر در این هنگام خانه زادان دران حدرد باشند احتمال دارد كه از داد و كهاج كه متاع روی دكان آب و هوای اینملك است خلاص باشند و از عمر اینقدر روزی ماند شوند كه یكبارگی بر استان حضور رسیده

لذت عمر و ثمره زندگانی از استان بوس والا برکیرد - دیگر امر جلیل القدر شده که اورنگ زیب بهادر انتظام صوبه دکن را موفق مرضی خاطر مقدس نکرده بآن غلام بندگان سرشت امر میکنم که اگر هر چهار صوبه دکن را میخواستند باشند و تواند آبادان سلامت با و مرحمت فرمائیم - قبله عالمیان سلامت سعادت دینی و دنیوی نصیب بنده ایست که بندگی خدای موری و خلائق مجازی را سرمایه بهبود دنیا و آخرت خود شناسد و محروم کسیکه در خدمات و کارهای قبله و کعبه خود اغراض فاسده خود را منظور نظر داشته برخلاف بندهای درگاه عمل نماید - الحمد لله والمذته که حقیقت هر صوبه و خدمت آنکس که محروم است آن معمور است از خاطر نهفته ناظر فیض مظاهر پوشیده نیست تا این نصیری باین حد در رسیده و بنوعی که ضبط و ربط و نظام و نسق ایذملک کوشیده اگر بواقعی بعرض بار یافتگان نهاده درگاه میرسد امیدوار بود که صوبه پنده را هم مرحمت میفرمودند - زمیندار مورنگ کجار و غیره ذاک که هیچ یک از احکام سابق پیشکش نداده بودند مکرر رکلاے خود را معه عراض مشتمل بر دولخواهی و اطاعت فرستاده طریقه بندگی و انقیاد مسلوک میدارند - و چند زنجیر نیل بطریق پیشکش فرستادند که چون بنظر قدسی اثر بگذرد امیدوار است که بشرف قبول بار یافتگان درگاه ممتاز گردد - چون معموری بلاد و آسودگی کافه عباد را از مرضیات خاطر مقدس حضرت شاهنشاهی میداند درین مدت بمعموری و آبادانی این هر دو صوبه بنوعی اهتمام و جهد نمود که روز بروز آثار آن آشکارا میگردد صوبه اردیسه که از ستم حکام پیشین خراب بود در یزولا آبادانی گذاشته بنابراین تسلیمات غلامی بجا آورده بعرض میرساند که چون باب آبادانی و تنظیم تفسیق این هر دو صوبه بقدر امکان سعی نموده اگر پنده هم باین جان نثار مرحمت میشد خانزادگان خوردن سال را انجا گذاشته در خبرداری این صوبه هاسعی مشکور بتقدیم میرسانید و عهده جواب نیک و بد ایذملک برمی آید (آمد) دوین صورت هم خانه زادن صغیر از لطامات و صدمات بیمارهای متضاده که شمار آن از تعداد بدرونست خلاص میبودند و هم بعنایت الهی و اقبال جهان کشای شاهنشاهی ربط و ضبط این هر سه صوبه مطابق مرضی کارگزاران خلاف صورت سرانجام میگرفت اگر سرموری ازین که معروض داشته تهران و تقصیری نمود از عهده جواب برمی آمد و اگر بخاطر ملکوت ناظر رسد که ضبط و نسق هر سه صوبه بار متعذرست و یک

حاکم به تنظیم این ممالک نتواند پرداخت پس امیدوار است که سر به آرویس و پشته
مرحمت شود - 

من نگویم که لطف احسان کن * بنده ام هرچه بایدت آن کن

سایه جهان بر روی ممدود باد

Is the Will of Shaista Khan authentic ?

(By Hakim Habibur Rahman of Dacca.)

At the fifth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Calcutta Khan Bahadur Saiyid Abdul Latif read a paper on Amirul-Umara Shaista Khan's last will, a copy of which is said to be extant in the town of Dacca. I propose in these lines briefly to discuss the question of the authenticity of this alleged will as in my opinion it is a spurious document and a forgery.

Before examining the document in detail I should like to reproduce the copy of its Persian text as well as its English translation by the Khan Bahadur.



نقل مطابق اصل

تقسیم نامه بمهر نواب شایسته خان امیر الامراء معه مهر قاضي القضاة اکرم خان
و نواب اسد خان و نواب ذوالفقار خان و نواب اکبر خان و نواب تربیت خان
و غیره امرایان عظام از قرار بقاریخ پانزدهم شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۳۶ از جلوس والا
و از هجری شرح آنکه چون هرذی حیات را فنا در پیش است بنابراین
احقر العباد ابو طالب عرف در حین حیات خود املاک و غیره معه ترلیت
اوراق و مریجات موافق قسمت هر یک تقسیم کرده دادیم

که معه فرت این فقیر برادران با یکدیگر مناقشه در میان نیارند و بموجب همین تقسیم نامه اولاد هر یک قابض و متصرف باشد از شرم طبعی خود دعوی بپنجائی ملک برادر دیگر نماید همین تقسیم خود دیده منفعل گردد بنابر همین یک مضمون بهر یک نوشته دادم که پیش هر کس باشد

(۱) املاک بابت صوبه تهته - به نورالغساء خانم - یک کترة - دو باغ و یک حویلی بخشیدم

(۲) املاک بابت بلاد صوبه ملتان - یک کترة و در کاران سرا و دو باغ و دو حویلی خانم صبیحة عقیدت خان مرحوم معه اولاد درین املاک

(۳) املاک بلده صوبه لاهور - یک کترة و دو باغ و در کاران سرا و دو باغ و دو کترة و یک چهته بازار بابت صوبه کابل و تولیت مسجد و مقبره واقع بلده لاهور معه تولیت مقبره فرخنده نخت برادر حقیقی مرحومه ابوالمعالی خان پسر خود داده و این املاک و اوقاف هر دو صوبه برادران دیگر معه اولاد شریک نیستند

(۴) املاک و اوقاف بلده صوبه کشمیر - یک کترة و دو باغ و دو حویلی و تولیت مسجد ظفر خان مرحوم - به مرزا طالع یار خان پسر مغفور مذکور بفرزند زاده خود دادیم - دیگر عموها معه اولاد درین املاک و تولیت اوقاف شرکت ندارند

(۵) املاک بابت صوبه اجمیر - دو کترة و دو باغ و دو منکبی و یک گنج و دو حویلی به نجیب النساء بیگم همشیر زادی خود دادم - برادران دیگر معه اولاد

(۶) املاک و اوقاف صوبه برهان پور - دو کترة و دو باغ و یک حویلی - تولیت مقبره عقیدت خان به برادر حقیقی مرحوم ابونصر خان پسر خود دادیم درین املاک و تولیت اوقاف برادران دیگر معه اولاد شرکت ندارند

(۷) املاک بابیت صوبه اله آباد - یک کترة راقع بلده کترة و یک کترة بابیت بلده شهزاد پور - به ماه منیر بیگم فرزند زادی خود دادیم - دیگر عمره‌ها را معه اولاد درین املاک دخل ندارند .

(۸) املاک بابیت محمد آباد - بفارس - به محمدی بیگم فرزند زادی خود دادیم دیگر عمره‌ها را درین املاک تعلق ندارند

(۹) یک کترة بلده راقع عظیم آباد و یک کترة بلده مرشد آباد و یک کترة بابیت هرگامی و املاک و تولیت اوقاف مساجد مقبره ایران دخت عرف بی بی پری بموجب وصیت مرحومه خدابخنده خان عرف مرزا بنگالی پسر خود را دادیم - درین املاک و اوقاف تولیت مساجد و مقابر برادران دیگر را معه اولاد دخل نیست

(۱۰) املاک و اوقاف صوبه اکبر آباد - یک کترة و یک باغ و درگنچ راقع گوکهاٹ و تولیت مسجد و مقبره نواب اعتماد الدوله مغفور جد خود و تولیت مسجد و مقبره نواب آصف خان مرحوم پدر خود و تولیت مقبره توران دخت عرف بی بی بیبین در صوبه جهانگیر نگر کنار لکھیا - برادر حقیقی مرحومه معه تولیت سید محمد هم شیرزاد حقیقی پسر خود داده درین املاک و تولیت اوقاف هر سه صوبه برادران دیگر معه اولاد شرکت ندارند

املاک و اوقاف باد - کچرات دو کترة و در باغ بزرگ امید خان پسر خود

تحریر
فی التاریخ

English translation of the last Will and Testament of Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan, Viceroy of Bengal (including Behar), Orissa and Assam in the 17th Century.

Certified copy according to the original.

The deed of distribution of property, under the seal of Nawab Shaista Khan Amir-ul-Umara together with the seals of the Qazi-ul-Quzat Akram

Khan and Nawab Asad Khan, Nawab Zulfaqar Khan, Nawab Akbar Khan, Nawab Tarbiat Khan and other high Umaras, executed on the 15th of the month of the holy Rajab in the 36th year of the august ascension. Let it be explained that since every living person is liable to death, I, Abu Talib, known asin my own life-time, make this distribution of my properties, including the prefectures of wakf under Subahs..... according to.....so that simultaneously with the death of my humble self, the brothers do not fight among themselves, and their children may hold property according to this deed of distribution..... (If) out of avarice any one lays improper claim to the property of another brother, he should feel ashamed of himself when he has found his share defined (in this document). I have given a writing to the same effect to every one so that each may have it with him.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| (1) Properties in the Subah of Thatha. | 1 katra, 2 gardens and 1 haveli | To Nuran Nesa Khanum. |
| (2) Properties in the cities in the Subah of Multan. | 1 katra, 2 caravan-serais, 2 gardens and 1 haveli. | To.....Khanum, daughter of the late Aqidat Khan, together with children. |
| (3) Properties in the city of Subah Lahore. | 1 katra, 2 gardens, 2 caravan-serais, 2 gardens, 2 katras, 1 bazar in the Subah of Kabul, the prefecture of the Mosque and tomb in the city of Lahore together with the prefecture of the tomb of Farkhonda Dukht. | To the brother of the deceased (Farkhonda Dukht) Abul Muwali Khan, my son. Other brothers have no share in the properties and wakfs of these 2 subahs. |
| (4) Properties and wakfs in the city of Kashmir. | 1 katra, 2 gardens, 2 havelis, the prefecture of the Mosque of the late Zafar Khan whose son is Saleyar Khan. | To my grandson. Other uncles and their children will have no share in these prefectures and properties attached to wakfs. |
| (5) Properties in the subah of Ajmere. | 2 katras, 2 gardens, 2 marts, 1 ganj and 2 havelis. | To Najibun Nesa Begum, my sister's daughter. Other brothers and their children have no concern with these. |
| (6) Properties and wakfs in the subah of Burhanpur. | 2 katras, 2 gardens, 1 haveli, the prefecture of the tomb of Aqidat Khan. | To the deceased's brother, Abu Nasr Khan, my son. In these properties and wakfs other brothers and their children will have no share. |
| (7) Properties in subah Allahabad. | 1 katra in the city of Kara and 1 katra in the city of Shahzadpur. | To my grand-daughter Mah-i-Munir Begum. Other uncles and their children will have no right to these. |
| (8) Properties in Muhammada-bad, Benares. | | To my grand-daughter Muhammadi Begum. Other uncles will have no concern with this. |
| (9) 1 katra in the city of Azimabad, 1 katra in the city of Murshidabad, 1 katra in Hughli, and properties and prefecture of the wakfs attached to the Mosques and tomb of Iran Dukht <i>alias</i> Bibi Pari. | | To my son Khuda Banda Khan <i>alias</i> Mirza Bangali, according to the last wish of the deceased (Bibi Pari). Other brothers (of her) and their children will have no possession of these properties and wakfs and prefectures of Mosques and tomb. |

- (10) Properties and wakfs in 1 katra, 1 garden, 2 ganjes in Goghat, the prefecture of the Mosque and tomb of my late ancestor, Nawab Itimad-ud-Dowla, the prefecture of the tomb of the late Nawab Asaf Khan, the prefecture of the tomb of Turan Dukht *alias* Bibi Biban in the subah of Jahangirnagar on the bank of the Lakhya, the prefecture of Syed Muham-mad the nephew of To my son, the brother of the deceased (Turan Dukht). Other brothers (of his) and their children will have no share in the properties and prefectures of wakfs in all the 3 subahs.
- (11) Properties and wakfs in 2 katras and 2 gardens . . . To my son Buzurg Umed Khan.

Now, the very first thing that will strike even the most casual eye is the wretched nature of the composition of the Persian text. It is neither idiomatic nor grammatical. It carries no sense. It cannot possibly be the work of an accomplished Persian nobleman like Shaista Khan. In fact, the phraseology suggests that it is the composition of a man of Bengal, nay a resident of Dacca. The very first word in the main text *viz.*, تقسيم نامہ is erroneous. It means a deed of partition whereas the document is to all intents and purposes وصیت نامہ that is, a will or a testament. Further down, we meet with the phrase معہ فوت این فقیر which is not a Persian phrase at all. It is the literal translation of the colloquial Urdu of Dacca مرنے کے ساتھ. Similarly none of the phrases املاک بلکہ صوبہ لاہور (item no 3 of the schedule), فرزندان زامی خود (item 5) ہمیشہ زامی خود (item 5), (items 7 and 8) can be called Persian. The last two are words of Indian origin as the یائے تانیث distinctly shows, یی is never used in Persian to indicate feminine gender.

The words 'mandi' and 'ganj' mean the same thing, that is a market of foodstuffs where a large number of merchants gather and deal in goods wholesale only. But in item 5 of the schedule we have "two mandis" and "one ganj". It is difficult to see what distinction is sought to be made here between the two terms and why.

Mistakes of idiom are however not the only thing: the writer does not seem to know even his own mind. In item No. 10 of the schedule he mentions "the tomb of the late Nawab Asaf Khan" as lying in Akbarabad whereas it is situated in Lahore. Proceeding under the same head, he writes, 'the tomb of Turan Dukht *alias* Bibi Biban in the subah of Jahangirnagar on the bank of the Lakhya'. Now, we know that there was no such subah as the subah of Jahangirnagar. There used to be a town of Jahangirnagar but it was situated on the bank of the Buriganga, not on that of the Lakhya.

Another remarkable fact is that the document does not commence with حمد و نعت *i.e.*, the praise of God and his Prophet. This is not only strange but surprising as that is the usual form of a Muslim's will.

Next, let us turn to the attestation of the deed. It is alleged to have been endorsed by (1) Qazi-ul-Quzat Akram Khan, (2) Nawab Akbar Khan, (3) Nawab Asad Khan, (4) Nawab Zulfaqar Khan and (5) Nawab Tarbiat Khan. It is admitted on all hands that the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* is the leading authority on the lives of the nobles of the Mughal Courts specially those of the court of Alamgir. But no such name as Akram Khan¹ and Akbar Khan appear in its pages. Further we learn that from the 34th to the 37th year of the Julus of Alamgir, Nawab Asad Khan was continuously engaged in war in the Carnatic (*Ma'asir*, Vol. I, p. 312); that Nawab Muhammad Ismail Zulfaqar Khan was similarly employed in the Deccan during 35 to 39 Julus (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 104); and that Nawab Tarbiat Khan was only a *mansabdar* in the 40th Julus and was not created a Nawab till several years after (*ibid*, Vol. I, p. 503). So we see that neither of these people could have signed the document at Agra in the 36th Julus, the year when it is alleged to have been executed. The other nobles bearing similar names need not be mentioned here as none of them survived till the 36th of Alamgir's Julus.

Another important fact deserves careful consideration. Under the Mughal system, the natural heirs of a deceased noble did not succeed to his estate. All his property escheated to the Crown on his death. (See Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Second Edition, p. 162). How then could Shaista Khan make a will concerning his properties and dispose of Estates which would devolve on the Crown as soon as he died?

Lastly, I should like to point out another fact which will establish beyond all doubt the fact that the alleged will is a deliberate forgery, manufactured by designing persons for some ulterior purpose.

In item 9 of the schedule of the document is mentioned '1 katra in the city of Azimabad and 1 katra in the city of Murshidabad'; but the name Murshidabad came into existence several years after the death of Shaista Khan, not to speak of the date of the document.

Murshidabad was formerly known as Maqsudabad. Kartalab Khan, the Governor of Bengal, received the title of Murshid Quli Khan in November 1704 (Hijri 1117). It was some time after this event that he moved the Capital from Jahangirabad (the present Dacca) to Maqsudabad and called it Murshidabad after his own name. (See *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, English Translation, p. 28 and pp. 254 and 255; also *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 483; *Ma'asirul-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 751 and Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V. pp. 378-79).

I trust then, that I have been able to prove, in some way, the nature of the alleged last Testament of Shaista Khan. It is for the historians to rate it for what it is worth.

¹ Muhammad Akram was the Qazi-ul-Quzat of Alamgir from 1698 to 1706. See Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, iii, Chap. 27.

Khojah Petrus, the Armenian Merchant-Diplomat.

(By Mesroby J. Seth, M.R.A.S.)

In the paper which I read on Gorgin Khan, the Armenian Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal, before the "Indian Historical Records Commission" at Rangoon, in December 1927, I said that, apart from being eminent merchants, the Armenians in India, had in the past, achieved fame as envoys, diplomats and military commanders of a very high order. I shall mention the names of two only who as diplomats, rendered valuable services to the early British settlers in Bengal. In 1690, Job Charnock, the Company's Factor at Hooghly¹, had, owing to his violence and arrogance towards the Indians, been imprisoned, publicly bastinadoed and ignominiously, turned out of the city and he had to take refuge at a small village on the banks of the river Hooghly, which was destined to be the future metropolis of India and the second important city in the wide British Empire. In this connection it may be mentioned that the ubiquitous Armenians had already established themselves in the place, where Job Charnock, the reputed founder of Calcutta, fleeing before the Mogul Governor of Hooghly, had come to find a settlement. That the Armenians had settled in Calcutta long before the arrival of Job Charnock is evident from the indisputable fact that there is grave of an Armenian lady in the present Armenian Church of Calcutta, which was built in 1724 on the old Armenian Cemetery, bearing a date which is sixty years anterior to the arrival of the English refugees from Hooghly under Job Charnock on the 24th day of August 1690.

After Job Charnock had found a safe haven in Calcutta it was found necessary to build a factory with its usual adjunct—a Fort,—for the protection of their emporium and the valuable goods to be stored therein, and for such extensive buildings, large tracts of land were necessary, but how were they to acquire the same without the permission of the hostile Mogul government which viewed the growth and the expansion of the Company's trade with suspicion. It may be mentioned that the Armenians were the most favoured subjects of the Delhi government at that time and were held in high esteem by the Mogul Emperors from Akbar downwards for their loyalty and integrity. The English were not slow in recognising the worth of the Armenians in Bengal whose valued friendship they eagerly sought for the furtherance of their cause in this country. There resided at that time at Hooghly an Armenian merchant, Khojah Israel Sarhad by name, a nephew of the illustrious Khojah Phanoos Kalandar with whom he had been to England in 1688. The English being aware of the abilities of the Armenian in matters diplomatic, approached Khojah Israel Sarhad and requested him to proceed to the camp of the Mogul Emperor, Azimus-Shan, the grandson of Aurang-

¹ The English Factory at Hooghly was opened in 1640, by the order of the Emperor Shah Jehan as a personal favour granted to Dr. Gabriel Boughton of Surat for curing one of the daughters of that Emperor.

zeb, who had come down from Delhi to quell the rebellion of Sabah Singh in Bengal towards the end of the year 1697. The mission of the Armenian Political Agent proved a success, as was to be expected, for he was able to acquire letters-patent from the Mogul Emperor in July 1698, allowing the English to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanuti and Govindpore for the paltry sum of sixteen thousand rupees. During his stay at the camp of the Mogul Emperor Azim-us-Shan, Khojah Israel Sarhad, the debonair Armenian merchant—diplomat, by reason of his winning manners and oriental ways became a great favourite of his younger son, Prince Farrokh Siyar, by making him presents of toys. His friendship, so auspiciously begun, stood him in good stead afterwards when that Prince ascended the throne of the mighty Moguls in 1713.

In the "Chutanutta diary and consultations" for June, July and August 1697, we find the following entry under date the 24th June: "Cojah Surhand Khojah Sarhad having offer'd his servis to goe to the Nabobs Son Zubberdast Cawn, General of the Mogulls forces against the Rebell, and Governor of all these parts at present to make application in behalf of the Right Honourable Company against the Interlopers, it's resolved and agreed to by us, that he proceed accordingly and because persons who have business are not acceptable and welcome to these great persons empty handed for the more effectual and speedy procuring redress and getting out Perwanna's to prevent the Interlopers from trade.

It's Agreede and resolved that an Arruzdaast (Arzdasht) or letter be sent to the Nabob's Son to the same effect: Also a present to the value of a thousand rupees, in broadcloth, flintware, etc., as under specified, and that verbal directions be given. Cojah Surhand to countenance and forward his proceedings against the Interlopers, and more especially to insist upon the late services we have done the King".

In the same "Diary and Consultations" for the 8th July, it is recorded:—

"Cojah Surhand being returned to us from Zubberdust Cawn with his Perwanna on the Governors of Hughly and Ballasore to hinder the Interlopers from trade, its ordered that the Perwannas be dispeeded forthwith to said Governors."

The following entry appears in the "Chutanutta Diary and Consultations" for 22nd September 1698:—

"Mr. Walsh and Cojah Surhand being arrived with us from their embassy to the Young Prince having finished all business to our great satisfaction and the honour and credit of our Right Honourable Masters and intimating us that they promised the Prince three brass small pieces of cannon his curiosity or rather warlike disposition hankering after a handsome and decent artillery. In consideration whereof and that they would be very acceptable to him.

It's Agreede and Order'd that they be forthwith dispeeded to him. And because very suddenly we may have further occasion to make use of his

favours in matter wherein the Right Honourable Company's affairs may receive great prejudice without his countenance and protection. Its further resolv'd that a present of the New Flintware that came by the *Anna* (being the best and the greatest curiosities that has come out of England these many years) be tender'd him to preserve the Friendship and Affection he hath in a more speciall manner demonstrated to the English above other Nations."

It was the same Khojah Sarhad who in 1715 accompanied the Surman Embassy to Delhi and obtained from the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, the "Grand Farman" for the English which laid the foundations of British rule in India. In the several reasons given by the Calcutta Council on the 27th January 1714, for appointing Khojah Sarhad in the negotiations at the Great Mogul's Court, they state, amongst others that:—

"He managed our affairs in Mahomed Azeem's Durbar and by his prudent conduct and winning address insinuated himself into favour and procured for us the Grant of this place and the dependent towns which we now enjoy, and that for a small expence in comparison of the benefit."

The history of this all-important Embassy to Delhi is faithfully chronicled by the late Mr. C. R. Wilson in his "Early Annals of the English in Bengal" and I need not dilate on the many advantages derived by the Company therefrom. Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, states that "the inhabitants of Calcutta enjoyed after the return of the Embassy, a degree of freedom and security unknown to the other subjects of the Mogul Empire, and that city increased yearly in wealth, beauty and riches". That well-informed impartial critic and shrewd observer William Bolts, in his "Consideration on India Affairs" referring to this important deputation, says:—

"The trade of the English Company in Bengal had, from the period of their submission to Aurangzebe, continued to grow daily more important, but it was not carried on without frequent interruptions from the officers of the Mogul government, which it was hardly possible to avoid with a colony so situated. Being sensible likewise of the precarious tenures of their establishments in Bengal and elsewhere, in the year 1715, the Company sent a deputation of two gentlemen to the Court of Delhi: One an Englishman, named John Surman, and the other a very considerable Armenian merchant, named Cogee Khojah Serhad to solicit redress for past, and security against future oppressions, for an extension of their old, and for many new privileges; and particularly for a small spot of ground to be allowed them wherever they settled a factory."

It was upon this deputation that the English East India Company obtained their Grand *Farman*, exempting them from paying any duties upon their trade within the Mogul's dominions, on paying a *peshcash*, or acknowledgment, of ten thousand rupees per annum.

We now come to a most critical period in the history of the British in Bengal. I allude to the dark days following the capture and the sack of Calcutta and the tragedy of the "Black Hole" which shook the foundations of British rule in India.

It was an Armenian again, Khojah Petrus Arratoon, the subject of this paper, who spontaneously came to the assistance of the English and rendered yeoman services to them in their hour of need, although he was misjudged afterwards and accused unjustly of having been a spy in the service of the Nawabs of Bengal from Serajuddowlah to Mir Kasim.

Khojah Petrus, or the "Armenian Petrus" as Clive calls him, was an eminent Armenian merchant of Calcutta and a man of vast influence by reason of his integrity and social status of a high order.

The humane Armenian hearing of the terrible sufferings of the English inhabitants of Calcutta, who with Drake, the Governor, had taken refuge in their ships at Fulta, after the fall of Fort William, secretly supplied them with provisions for a period of six months and but for the timely succour of Khojah Petrus, the unfortunate English refugees at Fulta might have been starved to surrender before the arrival of the Army of Retribution from Madras under Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive on the 20th December 1756. Khojah Petrus was afterwards employed by Clive as a confidential agent in negotiating with Mir Jaffier for the overthrow of Seraj-ud-dowlah, the author of the "Black Hole" tragedy. And in 1760 when it was found expedient to remove the imbecile Mir Jaffier and place his son-in-law, Mir Kasim on the Masnad of Murshidabad, Khojah Petrus' services were again requisitioned as he was known to be very friendly with Mir Kasim. And for all the valuable services which Khojah Petrus had rendered to the English in Bengal, at the risk of his life, there is nothing in the records to show that he had been rewarded for his loyalty to the British cause. Being unable to get justice from Clive and his colleagues in Calcutta for his loyalty, once the crisis was over and the tide had turned in favour of the English, he addressed a long letter to the Court of Directors in London on the 25th January 1759, enumerating the various services he had rendered to the British cause in Bengal since the capture and sack of Calcutta in June 1756. The following is a copy of the letter:—

Letter from Petrus Arratoon to the Court of Directors, dated 25th January 1759.

HONOURABLE SIRs,

It is with the most humble submission I assume liberty to address the following narrative to your Honourable Board, to set in a true and faithful light—the indefatigable pains, charges, and imminent danger myself and the persons therein mentioned underwent to relieve the miseries of the English Gentry after they had been extirpated from Calcutta by the invasion of the Moor, and refuged on board their ships at Fulta and to be instrumental to bring matters to the happy state they are in at present.

The calamities and condition the English Families were in on board their ships at Fulta, I need not describe, no doubt but the Honourable Company have had a very particular account of their dilemma and sufferings: I shall proceed to relate how far their deplorable state made impressions on one

Abraham Jacobs (a Jew) and myself. The said Abraham Jacobs applied himself to me with a prospect to join him to endeavour to contribute the English some relief. A proposition of that commiseration and humanity, I readily came into, solemnly lighted him my faith to yield them my utmost assistance with all imaginable alacrity, fervency and fidelity, even to the hazard of my life, upon this Abraham Jacobs remained in my house at Calcutta disguised in Moor's habit. We mutually consulted and agreed the first step we were to take, was to get the speech of Omichand², and to bring him over to be an instrument to promote our schemes who had great interest with the Moors and though Mr. Drake and Council addressed him twice before to no effect, he not so much as giving them an answer, yet we were so fortunate as to prevail with him to join our cause, and the first thing we effected was to obtain the country people to bring provisions to Fulta market which they were restrained from before—We likewise conveyed boats and *lascars* to attend the ships, and indeed we studied and laboured and left no stone unturned to yield them all the conveniences and necessarys we possibly could obtain either by interest or presents out of our shipwrecked fortunes, for there was no favours, scarce humanity to be expected from such mercenary wretches without the prevailance of presents. We then proceeded to advise Major Kilpatrick to send a letter to Monickhund Governor of Calcutta which he did and we delivered it to him and were so happy to have him receive it favourably, and returned an answer. This success spirited us to advise the Major to write to Coja Wazeed and Jugut Seth and we carried these letters to Hughly and delivered them to the said Coja Wazeed and Jugut Seth's *gomastas*, and returned with satisfactory answers to the Major. The good consequences of these correspondences was the obtaining of a cessation of hostilities or disturbances of the Moors towards the English, which continued till the arrival of His Majesty's Squadron. The said Abraham Jacob's and myself were almost incessantly employed in travelling up and down the river, carrying them all the assistance we could and giving them advices of all the occurrences we could learn, which brought on us great expenses by keeping a great number of servants, boats, small presents to the Moor's under-officers not to impede or molest us, as well as the inexpressible trouble and anxious fears lest we might be betrayed. As I hinted before, our fortunes were for the major part shipwrecked at the sacking of the town and our circumstances were at a very low ebb. All the money we received from Mr. Drake and Major Kilpatrick at Fulta amounted to no more than Rupees 150 and 380, which last sum was employed on this occasion. It was thought necessary towards accommodating matters with the Nabob we should have the King's *phirmaund* to produce if required, which was lost, but William Frankland Esquire, accidentally found among his papers the copy of the *phirmaund*, which we got fair translated and paid that sum to an officer at Hughly who had the Mogul's *chap* (seal) to affix it to the same. In the beginning of October 1756, Omichand went to Muxadavad (Murshidabad) in order to endea-

² Omichand was a Punjabi Hindu merchant of Calcutta and had acted for many years as agent for the English in their purchases of saltpetre and other Indian goods in Bengal. His real name was Amir Chand but he is better known as Omichand.

your an accommodation, when the said Abraham Jacob's wearied out with continual fatigue fell sick at Chinsura so that the whole weight of affairs fell alone upon me, to be perpetually employed backwards and forwards to Fulta, etc., as prementioned, till the arrival of His Majesty's Squadron, Admiral Watson of glorious memory and Colonel Clive, who finding nothing could be effected by fair means with Seraj-ud-Dowla, he being a Prince whose word could in no wise be depended on, perfidious in his nature and a promise-breaker, which occasioned hostilities to commence on the side of the English, and after retaking Calcutta³, the Colonel and his army encamped to the northward of the town, and the Nabob soon marched his army from Muxadabad and encamped very near him. However a treaty was set on foot, I was employed to negotiate between both partys, but the brave Colonel Clive rightly conceiving the Nabob trifled and did not mean to come to any terms of accommodation, he judged it necessary to compel him by force of arms, accordingly he gave him battle, and God was pleased to crown him with victory which brought the Nabob to terms of peace, which being settled and Articles confirmed he returned with his army to Muxadabad.

Afterwards William Watts Esquire and I were sent thither to receive what compensation was agreed on in the treaty of peace. A part thereof was received, the remainder withheld by the Nabob. Here words can't express what trouble Mr. Watts and self had in attendance and endeavouring to get from him the remainder. That gentleman perceived plainly the Nabob was dealing treacherously with the English, and had information he was privately perfidiously concerting measures with the French, and his behaviour confirmed Mr. Watts in the same, for when he sent me to demand from the Nabob the remaining money, he threatened if Mr. Watts presumed to make any further demand, to take his life away. Due advice of these particulars were remitted to Calcutta. In the interim, Mr. Watts, whose whole study was taken up for the good of the Company and publick cause, sent me to Jaffir Ally Cawn one of the Nabob's noblemen, and who tacitly was disaffected with the Nabob's treacherous proceedings to him. I was to lay open a new scheme, which I did, and had I been detected, nay even suspected herein, it would have cost Mr. Watts and me our lives, but to proceed I brought Jaffir Ally Cawn to a concession to Mr. Watts' proposal, and to enter into the scheme, and appointed a day for Mr. Watts to have an interview with him in private, to accomplish which I provided in readiness a covered *palankeen* such as the Moor women are carryed in, which is inviolable, for without previous knowledge of the deceit no one dare look into it. At the appointed time Mr. Watts was carried to Jaffir Ally Cawn's house, and there concluded and confirmed the scheme untill an answer of approbation could be had from the Select Committee at Calcutta. As soon as the same arrived, I requested leave of the Nabob for Mr. Watts and self to retire for three days to the Garden House without the city, which being granted we lost no time to make our escape from thence to meet Colonel Clive who was on the march with the

³ Calcutta was retaken by the British on the 2nd January 1757 and Drake, the former Governor, reinstated as President.

army for Muxadavad, and by the blessing of Providence got there safe, a narrow escape indeed, for had we deferred our flight three hours longer, though we acted with the greatest conduct and secrecy till matters were ripe for action, we should have both been taken and put to the most miserable death. Your Honor may be pleased to observe here what risque Mr. Watts and self run of our lives for your interest. I need not mention the wonderful effects and issue our labour has produced. What a happy change in the state of your affairs, to have a peaceable possession of Calcutta confirmed to you etc. But I must beg leave to exhibit to Your Honors that though I have gone through such great travel, pain anxiety and dangers in assisting the English families in the depth of their distress, being instrumental towards the happy Revolution, yet Your Honors have not taken the least notice or mention of me nor of Abraham Jacobs, my fellow labourer untill the fatigues, as prementioned afflicted him with sickness, nor even the expences we disbursed have not been repaid us, which incites me to believe that my services have not been represented to Your Honors. If they have, I have reason to believe not in a clear and genuine but very faint light, for had your Honors been made truly and particularly sensible of my vigor, fervency, and fidelity in your service, I flatter myself I should have been honoured with some instance of Your Honours' favour, therefore, I humbly refer this genuine, but short narrative in regard to the particulars, to Your Honors' serious consideration, and hope you will consider me worthy of the gratuity to have some post in Your Honors service conferred on me, and not forget the service of Abraham Jacobs, as in your wisdom you shall judge, I merit, or such reward as Your Honours shall deem fit. Permit me, Honourable Sirs, to tender my sincere wishes for prosperity and success to attend you in all your affairs, and most respectfully to subscribe Honourable, Your most obedient and faithful humble servant."

PETROSS ARRATOON.

I have not yet been able to find out what reply the Court of Directors gave to the above letter as the Records are silent on that point, but it is not likely that the Court of Directors would have ignored that valuable historical document entirely. And in order to prove by documentary evidence the important part played by Khojah Petrus in the negotiations which led to the establishment of British rule in Bengal, I shall now proceed to give some extracts from state letters and documents of the time which shed a flood of light on the history of the negotiations and the principal actor therein as unfortunately very little is known of that great Armenian merchant-diplomat of Calcutta, who at the risk of his life helped the English in their hour of need.

In a letter to Mr. Pigot, dated Camp, 25 January 1757, Colonel Clive writes:—

"Yesterday his (Nabob's) Prime Minister despatched one Coja Petrus, an Armenian, to me, desiring I would send a trusty person with our proposals,

intimating that the Nabob was desirous of settling matters in a private manner without the mediation of the French. I have desired the gentlemen will send their proposals very fully explained that we may lay them before the Nabob as soon as possible."

On the 2nd February, 1757, we find Seraj-ud-dowlah again sending Coja Petrus to Clive asking for the despatch of envoys, but he did not wait for a reply.

On the following day, writing from Camp, Clive commences his letter to the Select Committee at Fort William, as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN.—Coja Petrus is returned with a letter and present from the Nabob and I propose despatching the commissaries to him without delay, therefore request you will send me the proposals immediately."

On the 6th February 1757, we find Clive writing to the Nabob in the following terms:—

"I sent two gentlemen to treat with you about a peace at Nabobgunge where, by your letter, and the promise from your own mouth to Coja Petrus, I expected they would have found you, instead of which they found you in Calcutta. This action sufficiently shows you meant only to amuse me."

In a letter from Mr. Watts to Colonel Clive, written 10 coss from Hooghly, and dated the 18th February 1757, I find the following:—

"I have certain advice from Coja Petrus and from two gentlemen I sent on purpose to Chinchura that the French are sending their effects there, they saw several boats loaded with chests, chairs, pepper, cotton, etc., and some carrying on shore, so that you will find nothing but an empty shell. I am informed the Danes give the same protection, but of this you will be able to get better intelligence than I."

In a long letter to the Secret Committee at London, dated Camp opposite to Barnagul, Clive writes on the 22nd February 1757, as follows:—

"On the 3rd instant letters came in from the Nabob proposing to restore our settlement and make some reparation for the effects taken, and desiring proper persons to be sent to confer with him on the subject, at the same time the van of his army appeared in sight, and passed along towards Calcutta, just without reach of the cannon of our battery to the eastward.

Coja Petrus, an Armenian, who brought the Nabob's letters assured me that the Nabob had by his own mouth promised to wait at a place called Ganga where he then was till the conference was over and I directly wrote him testifying my satisfaction at his pacifick intentions and that two gentlemen would be deputed immediately to treat with him.

The next day, being the 6th, the Nabob decamped and removed to Dum Dumma, and the Armenian was again sent to me with a letter from Rangeet Roy desiring if we meant peace to transmit our proposals to the Nabob who was inclined to comply with them."

In a letter from Mr. Watts to Colonel Clive, dated the 26th April 1757, I find the following:—

“ Mir Jaffier two days ago sent for Petrus privately and told him the Nabob Suraj-ud-dowlah was greatly disliked, that he ill used and affronted everybody, that for his part whenever he went to visit him he expected assassination, therefore always had his son and forces in readiness, that he was persuaded the Nabob would not keep to his Agreement and says he only waits till Menloll Mohan Lall is well and for some forces that are expected from Patna in eight or nine days to attack us. Mir Jaffier therefore sent for Petrus and desired him to tell me that if you are content, he, Raheem Cawn, Roydoolab and Bahaudar Ally Cawn and others are ready and willing to join their forces, seize the Nabob and set up another person that may be approved of.”

In a letter dated the 14th May, 1757, Mr. Watts writes to Colonel Clive as follows:—

“ Mir Jaffier likewise having expressed an utter distrust and disgust at his being any ways concerned in the Treaty, and as delays are dangerous, I therefore with Petrus had a meeting with Mir Jaffier's confidant (Omar Beg) who sets out to-day with the accompanying Articles, which he says he is sure Meir Jaffier will comply with.”

In a letter to Colonel Clive, dated the 8th June 1757 Mr. Watts writes from French Gardens, Chandernagore:—

“ I have not been duped as you must know by this time and be convinced Omichand has been the occasion of the delay. As a further proof, I enclose you copy and translate of a letter from him to Petrus. Please send for Petrus's brother (Khojah Gregory, better known as Gorgin Khan) and ask him upon oath if Omichand did not dictate and he wrote such a letter to his brother (Coja Petrus). If this will not satisfy you and Omichand's address has more weight than my proofs I will send you the original with his own signing. Let me beg of you to comply with this request not to divulge what I have inclosed or wrote you to Omichand till am in place of security, as he is implacable in his resentments and may be induced to discover everything by writing up here (Chandernagore) in order to sacrifice Petrus and me to his resentment. The Nabob Suraj-ud-dowlah and Meir Juffier are at open variance and it is apprehended troubles between them will soon ensue.”

Omichand's letter to Coja Petrus, in the handwriting of Khojah Gregory Gorgin Khan was written in Armenian, the following being a free translation of a part of the letter which Mr. Watts sent to Clive with a copy of the original as stated above. The translation was no doubt made by Khojah Petrus himself for Mr. Watts.

“ Omichand's compliments to Petrus.

There's letters gone for Mr. Watts to forbid his coming down till permission is given from hence. You and I are one: let us consider what is for

our own interest and act so as to make it pass that we have had the whole management of this affair. If our friend Mr. Watts is not set out, keep him a few days: affairs are not settled here, hereafter I will write you the particulars. You have a good understanding therefore there is no occasion to write you much. Our success depends upon each other. All my hopes are in you."

Facsimiles of Omichand's letter and the copy of the same both in Armenian, were published by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Baronet, in the "Indian Antiquary", Vol. XLVII, for November 1918. In the original copy, Omichand has signed his name in Hindi (Punjabi) as Amirchand. There is no signature on the copy and none of them bear any date, but they must have been written on the 4th or 5th June 1757, as Mr. Watts refers to it in his letter of the 8th June which he wrote to Clive enclosing the letter in question. If Khojah Petrus had complied with Omichand's request and kept back Mr. Watts things would have taken a different turn and the British cause would have been endangered, since Omichand was no friend of the English and for his double dealings he got his deserts shortly after when the forged treaty was drawn up and shown to him as a reward for his treachery, villainy and chicanery.

As Omichand's letter to Khojah Petrus is rather an important document, from a historical point of view, inasmuch as it served to put Khojah Petrus on his guard to save Mr. Watts from falling into the hands of Nawab Suraj-ud-Dowlah, as Omichand had cleverly planned, I shall therefore give a verbatim translation of the original Armenian letter, which, with the rough copy, were found among the Clive Manuscripts some years ago by Sir George Forrest.

Here is the translation:—

"To the most illustrious Sahib of Sahibs, Aga Petrus,

Be it known humbly in the service of him who is written above that up to the present time we have no favour from the Sahib. We are very anxious, and hearing of the arrival of Amirchand, I came to Gorothi and enquired about the real state of affairs about my Sahib.

He [Amirchand] told me to write these few words. Amirchand offers his devotions in the service of the Sahib. He says that they have written to Wach [Watts] from this place that no one is to come till we do not write. It remains that you and I are one. What will be good for us, do that. Be thoroughly manly till the end and everything is ours. And about your home, be of easy mind, I am here. And if the friend who is to come with you has arrived, it is good, if not, delay him for a few days, as there have been no deliberations here yet. I will write to you what is necessary to-morrow [when] the deliberations are over. It is not expedient to write details, because you are a wise man, moreover, my weal is yours and yours is mine. My entire affair I have left open to your wish. No more.

Amirchand."

Sir Richard Carnac Temple, in his interesting article on "Side-lights on Omichund" which appeared in the "Indian Antiquary" for November 1918, referring to the above letter says:

"Reviewing the conditions surrounding this remarkable letter, one cannot help considering what would have happened had Agha Petros acted as Omichand desired and kept Watts in Murshidabad until Surajuddaula had him in his power. Clive's letter of 5th June 1757 to Watts shows that had Watts failed in his mission, as he would have done, if Omichand had had his way, Clive, for some months at any rate, would have dropped his scheme of deposing Surajuddaula and setting up Mir Jafir as Nawab Nazim under British suzerainty, and the world-famous battle of Plassey would not have been fought. No doubt so worthless a prince as Surajuddaula would not long have retained his power, and no doubt Clive would in time have found means to obtain supreme authority in Bengal, but it would have had to be achieved in some other way. There was nothing then but the loyalty of Agha Petros to prevent the success of Omichand's proposal and a complete change in the story of British supremacy in India as we know it. The letter we have been discussing therefore just missed being of the first importance in history."

In a letter written by Colonel Clive to the Select Committee at Fort William, from Cutwa, on the 15th June 1757 at noon, I find the following:—

"I arrived last night at Cutwa and as the *seapoys* who came by land are a good deal fatigued, I shall only proceed to Mirzapore to-day where I shall disembark the cannon, etc., and I expect to reach Agra Diep in two days, to which place I shall order all the small boats. Mr. Watts with the gentlemen of Cossimbazar joined me yesterday afternoon, also Coja Petrus and a Moorman from Meir Jaffair. They left the city the 13th at night and acquaint us Meir Jaffair's party daily increases. The gunners and Laitee cawn have joined him, so that there is the greatest probability of a happy issue to the expedition."

In a letter, without date, but received by Colonel Clive on the 23rd June 1757, Jafar Ali Khan (Meir Jaffair) writes as follows:—

"Your note is arrived. Your trusty man is taken. I congratulate you on executing your design. Meirza Aumer Omar Beg, or Mr. Watts or Coja Petrus, send one of them to me. I am here on the banks of the lake agreeable to your desire."

After such a brilliant record of valuable services, the loyal Armenian becomes the target of the attacks of the arrogant Members of the Calcutta Council who forgetting the immediate past falsely and unjustly accuse him of treachery and disloyalty, as can be seen from the following extracts: In their letter to the Honourable the Secret Committee for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East

Indies, the Council* at Bengal wrote under date, Fort William, the 11th March 1762, as follows:—

“ The Armenian Ministers of the revolution Cojah Petruse and Khojah Gregory Gorgin Khan are in the highest degree of favour with the Nabob. Mir Kasim and his adherents, the former resides in Calcutta, retained by Cossim Aly Chan Nawab Mir Kasim, a known spy upon every transaction of the English of which he never fails to give his master the most regular intelligence, as was too apparent to Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, when they were at Patna. The latter of these Armenians has posts of the greatest trusts near the Nabob's person; and through the means of these men, the Armenians in general are setting up an independent footing in the country, are carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our investments in all parts, and commit daily acts of violence, which reflect no small odium on the English, who are supposed to encourage their proceedings.” The Court of Directors in their reply to the long letter of the Calcutta Council, said “ this paragraph 36 requires no answer from us ”, which goes to show that the cool-headed English gentlemen who presided over the destinies of the Company's trade in India, attached no importance to the false and venomous accusations of their self-interested servants in Calcutta against the two Armenians whose friendship for the English and their loyalty to the British cause was above reproach, for in the Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock regarding the revolutions in Bengal, it is stated that “ Mr. Holwell being well apprized that Coja Petruse (to whom the Company owed much in the last revolution, but much more in this) had the greatest weight with, and influence over Cossim Aly Khan Nawab Mir Kasim, had secured him on the side of the Company; and at a private interview with him, at Mr. Holwell's garden, on the same day of the conference between the Governor and Cossim Aly Khan, Mr. Holwell framed a rough plan of the terms which must be insisted on for the Company, in lieu of the protection and support to Cossim Aly Khan, which Coja Petruse engaged he would promote, to the utmost of his power and influence. The next morning, the 24th September, Mr. Holwell communicated his conference with Petruse and laid the rough plan before the Governor and the Select Committee, who approved of it, with little variation, and the 25th was appointed for the conference between him and Cossim Aly Khan.”

After such valuable services to the British cause in Bengal, the loyal Armenian was painted black by the Calcutta Council who stigmatized him as a “ spy ” in the service of the Nawab.

In the proceedings of the Calcutta Council for 24th March 1763, Mr. Batson laid before the Board the following minute:—

“ The evil designs of the Nawab Mir Kasim against us appearing now in a glaring light, and it being well-known through the whole country that

* The Council at Fort William, Bengal, was then composed of the following members:—

Eyre Coote, P. Amyatt, John Carnac, W. Ellis, S. Batson & H. Verelst.

Coja Petrus, the Armenian acts as the Nawab's spy in this place. Mr. Batson proposed that he and his family be turned out of Calcutta immediately and desires it may be put to the vote."

The motion contained therein being put to the vote agreeably to Mr. Batson's desire, the Members delivered their opinions, but Mr. Watts who knew Coja Petrus intimately since the dark days of the fall of Calcutta and the tragedy of the "Black Hole" in June 1756, and had always spoken highly of **his loyalty**, because he had saved his life, as we have seen, yet he did not hesitate to echo the sentiments of some of the members and stated that:—

"Petrus is well known to be an intriguing person and to have raised himself, I believe being a spy betwixt us and Seraja Dowla, during Clive's Government was ordered to quit this Settlement (Calcutta) and not to have any connections at the Durbar, for having spread and told the Chutta Nawab Meeran (Mir Jaffier's son) that Colonel Clive intended to take away his life, I therefore think he ought to be ordered to quit this Settlement, that his constituents cannot suffer any losses by our taking such a step, as his business can be carried on equally the same as when he was absent in a late visit to the Nawab."

But fortunately for Khojah Petrus, who had evidently become the victim of the hatred and malice of the Calcutta Council, the President pointed out that ordering a merchant of long standing out of the Settlement would be arbitrary, and would shake all confidence, but he was forbidden to act for the future as Vakil to the Nawab (Mir Kasim) and to the chagrin of his crest fallen enemies, Khojah Petrus was honourably acquitted by the Government. A glorious instance of British fairplay and justice indeed.

Later on the much harrassed but loyal Armenian was suspected by Major Adams to have been a spy for the Nawab Mir Kasim during the memorable campaign of October 1763, and was seized as such and ill-treated but he finally convinced the Government of his innocence and unshaken loyalty to the British cause by writing to them on the 21st November 1763 as follows:—

Your petitioner begs leave to observe to this Hon'ble Board at Ouda Nulla, a place where the enemy had strong works and great forces, your petitioner by direction from Major Adams wrote two letters to Marcar and Arratoon, two Armenian officers, who amongst others commanded the enemy's forces, and intimated to them that as the English always favored and protected the Armenian nation, so the Armenians in justice ought to direct their steps towards the good of the English.

That he is now about 14 or 15 years or thereabouts an inhabitant of this Settlement, and took up arms in the Factory when Seraju Dowla came down against Calcutta, when the English abandoned this place and retired to Fulta, and were in great distress there for provisions, your petitioner by carrying and bringing letters found means to introduce a correspondence between Rajah Monukchand and Major Kilpatrick, which opened a passage for provisions to the English at Fulta. The King's Firman being lost in the cap-

ture of the place Calcutta Your petitioner with a copy of it that was saved by Mr. Frankland, ventured up to Hooghly and got two attested copies of it drawn out with the Cazies' seal fixed to them, and brought and delivered them to Mr. Drake at Fulta. In short, your petitioner was as useful and serviceable to the English at Fulta as he could, until the arrival of their forces and the retaking of Calcutta, and your Petitioner was no less serviceable to the English when Seraju Dowla came to attack Calcutta the second time, as he was the person by whose means in carrying and bringing letters between Colonel Clive and Seraju Dowla, a general accommodation and peace was brought about, your petitioner afterwards went up with Mr. Watts to Cossimbazar where he did render all the services that he was ordered very zealously, and the same zeal animating him in spite of the numberless dangers to which he was exposed, he went between the English and Jaffir Ally Khan till the treaty was formed between them, and even to this day whatever the Hon'ble the President and Council have been pleased to order, your petitioner has always faithfully executed."

For his loyalty to the British in Bengal, Khojah Petrus suffered much. Here is another instance. During the campaign in the second half of the year 1763, when the British were fighting against Mir Kasim, the last independent Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, whose formidable army was under the command of Gorgin Khan, the younger brother of Khojah Petrus, Major Adams who commanded the British troops fearing lest Gorgin Khan or the other Armenian commanders of the Nawab might harm the British prisoners in the hands of the Nawab, kept, (as a precautionary measure), Khojah Petrus as a hostage in his camp, as can be seen from the letter which the Major wrote to Governor Vansittart on the 3rd October 1763.

"We had a report yesterday that Coja Gregore Gorgin Khan had been wounded some days ago by a party of his Mogul cavalry who mutinied for want of their pay between Sonage Gurree and Nabob Gunge. It is just now confirmed by a Hircarra arrived from the enemy with this addition that he died the next day and that forty principal people concerned were put to death upon the occasion, though it was imagined that the Moguls were induced to affront and assault Coja Gregore by Cassim Ali Cawn who began to be very jealous of him on account of his good behaviour to the English. If this should prove true, Coja Petruce can be of no further service to us. I therefore, would recommend sending him down to Calcutta, but shall wait the directions of the Board on that head.

I must confess this piece of news give me some concern as by all accounts he behaved very well to our gentlemen. And it was that only that occasioned him to all under Cassim Ali Cawn's displeasure. Had he lived, he might probably have assisted in effecting their escape, as we hear he frequently was the means of saving their lives as well as the Setts and other prisoners."

And for trying to save the lives of the English prisoners, out of love and affection for his brother Khojah Petrus, who was a staunch friend of the

English. Gorgin Khan, "one of the greatest men of the age" according to Marshman, lost his precious life by falling a victim to the rage of the Anglo-phobe Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal. Had he lived the blood-curdling massacre of Patna would have been prevented through his influence and the Juggut Seths would not have been cruelly murdered by the Nawab Mir Kasim.

That well-informed researcher and learned antiquarian Sir Richard Carnac Temple, in his illuminating article on "Side-light on Omichund" in the "Indian Antiquary" for November 1918, writes of Khojah Petrus in the following terms:—

"Petros Arratoon, usually known as Coja (Khwaja) Petrus (Petrose), was an important Armenian merchant, whose brother Grigor Arratoon (Gorgin Khan) was a general of Mir Kasim. He had resided in Calcutta since 1748 and had rendered valuable service to the English at the time of its capture and in the negotiations following its recapture. He seems to have accompanied Watts and Omichand to Murshidabad, as he is mentioned in a letter of the 18th February [1757], immediately after their arrival, and subsequent letters show him to have been employed as an emissary by both Watts and the Nawab. On the 24th April 1757, Mir Jafir, Surajuddaula's *Bakhshi* or Paymaster General, who had previously agreed to countenance Yar Lutf Khan's pretensions, but had since been approached by the Seths as a more suitable candidate, sent for Petros and desired him to tell Watts that he could secure the adhesion of the Nawab's chief officers in support of his own claims if these were put forward: "This scheme" Watts considered "more feasible than the other" and he urged its adoption by Clive, who readily acquiesced, since he was doubtful of the wisdom of setting up so comparatively an unimportant a man as Yar Lutf Khan, while Mir Jafir, brother-in-law of the late Nawab Governor, Alivardi Khan, was a personage of weight and influence."

Khojah Petrus or Petros—the Armenian name for Peter—had two younger brothers in Bengal, one of them was the famous Khojah Gregory or Gorgin Khan—the Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal—and the other, an eminent merchant, Barsegh (Basil) Arratoon by name, who suffered much at the hands of Governor Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes in 1767, as set forth in the "History of the Armenians in India" by the present writer.

Bolts, the well-known author of "Considerations on India Affairs," who espoused the cause of the much-harassed Armenian merchant, calls him Parseek Arratoon.

It is sad however to reflect that all the three brothers suffered in some way or other for their loyalty and devotion to the English in Bengal. The first, Khojah Petrus, after a brilliant record of valuable services to the British, as we have seen already, was pilloried and accused afterwards of disloyalty, intrigue and espionage, and was even threatened with expulsion from Calcutta with his family. The second, Khojah Gregory, or Gorgin Khan—Nawab Mir Kasim's Minister and Commander-in-Chief—and one of the greatest men of

the age, lost his precious life for being kindly disposed towards the English during the latter end of the régime of the Anglophobe Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal, whilst the third, Barsegh (Parseek) Arratoon, incurred the displeasure of Governor Harry Verelst for being a successful and an independent merchant and therefore a thorn on the side of the self-interested Governor and his clique in the glorious days of the memorable but infamous "Monopoly of Salt, Betel-nut and tobacco," when the servants of the Company were reaping a fair harvest from trading privately to the detriment of the Company's trade.

Hitherto we have seen Khojah Petrus in the light of a clever diplomat. Let us now see him as a private individual and a successful merchant of Calcutta. He was the head of the Armenian community in Calcutta and was held in high esteem by his compatriots for his benevolence and his charities. He built the beautiful Armenian Church at Saidabad⁴, near Murshidabad, in 1758, entirely at his own expense, in memory of his parents. He repaired and embellished the Armenian Church of Calcutta in 1763 and built two additional altars inside the Church, one on the right side of the main altar in memory of his brother Gorgin Khan who was assassinated near Monghyr and the other on the left side to commemorate his memory. Joseph Emin an Armenian of Calcutta, in his "Life and Adventures" printed in 1792 in London, calls Khojah Petrus "the earthly God of the Calcutta Armenians" which clearly shows the high esteem in which he was held by his countrymen.

Before concluding, I may mention that Khojah Petrus was a personal friend of Warren Hastings and when that much maligned statesman was badly in need of funds for his subsistence in England after his successful administration in Bengal, he obtained an accommodation of Rs. 12,000 from his Armenian friend in Calcutta after vainly trying to get it from his own Indian Diwan. And this Loan, it may be added, was not repaid by Warren Hastings till 10 years after when he came out to Madras.

His son Agah Arratoon Petrus founded in 1820 the Armenian Alms House in Calcutta where thousands, nay tens of thousands of itinerant and poor Armenians from all parts of the world, have found shelter all these years and blessed the memory of the devout Founder, who according to the Armenian inscription on the black marble tablet which can be seen to this day over the gate of the building "was zealous of the glorious deeds of his illustrious and hospitable ancestors".

Khojah Petrus, the diplomat, the merchant prince and the respected head of the Armenians in Calcutta died in 1778, aged fifty-three years, and his revered grave can be seen in the choir of the Armenian Church of Nazareth,

⁴ There is a brass tablet on the south wall of the Armenian Church at Saidabad—dedicated to the Virgin Mary—with an inscription in Armenian, from which it appears that the church was built by Khojah Petrus to the memory of his revered parents, Arratoon his father and Hosannah his mother, Dastagool his wife, Khojah Gregory [Gorgin Khan] and Agah Barsegh his brothers and all his blood relations, whether dead or alive.

Calcutta, with a long inscription on a white marble stone, in classical Armenian verse, of which the following is a translation:—

“ The eminent princely chief Aga Petrus Arratoon of Erivan, New Julfa, Ispahan, of the family of Abraham, was a lustrous hyacinthine crown of the whole Armenian nation. He worked assiduously and expended lavishly. His generosity towards the destitute orphans and widows was without parallel. By his frequent munificent gifts he erected handsome and well-embellished churches. He departed in the hope of salvation at the age of fifty-three, and was placed in this tomb with pomp, in the year of our Lord 1778, the 29th of August, corresponding with the year 163 of the era of Azaria, the 12th day of the month of Nadar.”

His widow, who survived him by 27 years, died in 1805 and lies buried beside her husband under a black marble tombstone with an inscription in classical Armenian of which the following is a translation:—

“ This is the tomb of Dastagool, the daughter of Aga Minas of the family of Khojah Minas of Erivan (a parish of Julfa) and wife of Aga Petrus. She departed this life on the 3rd of June 1805.”

It is to be hoped that when the history of those eventful years, which saw the dawn of a new era in Bengal, comes to be fully written, the deeds of the Armenian Khojah Petrus will not be forgotten and his valuable services to the British in Bengal ignored, as in the past.

The Last Days of Rajah Chait Singh.

(Based on unpublished State Records)

(By Brajendra Nath Banerji, Calcutta)

Chait Singh, Rajah of Benares, is one of the tragic characters in the drama of Warren Hastings' government of India. The Rajahs of Benares had at first been feudatories of Oudh, but by the treaty of May, 1775, Nawab Asaf-ud-daula ceded the State of Benares to the Company, and its Rajahs became vassals of the English on the same conditions as before. Hastings, who was displeased with Chait Singh for various reasons (see Gleig's *Memoirs of W. Hastings*, ii. 399-401), and had received reports of his having accumulated a crore-and-a-half of rupees,—wanted to exact from him heavy extraordinary contributions for the Maratha war in which the Company was then involved. For at first objecting to these demands and then delaying in complying with them, the Governor-General decided to punish him; he personally went to Benares, imposed on Chait Singh a fine of 50 lakhs, *i.e.*, $2\frac{1}{4}$ times the annual tribute of the Benares State, and put the Rajah under arrest in his own house, the Shivala place (16th August 1781). There was afterwards a tumult between the Rajah's followers and the sepoy and

chobdars of the Company stationed there, with the result that the latter were killed. The Rajah escaped across the river, and was deposed and declared a rebel. He took refuge at Bijaigarh, on the hills overlooking the Son river, but fled from that fort to Rewa when Major Popham came to invest it.

The fugitive ex-Rajah next sought asylum among the petty princes of Bundelkhand and finally in the dominions of Sindhia, where he died in obscurity in 1810.

This is all that can be learnt about Rajah Chait Singh from history, which, however, is silent on his closing days, perhaps because he ceased to figure in the politics of this country after his expulsion from Benares. In this paper I shall try to reconstruct, as far as possible, the history of his last days with the help of unpublished State records.

Hastings stood in urgent need of peace with the Peshwa and he was, therefore, glad when news reached him at Benares that Col. Muir had concluded a secret treaty with Sindhia at Budha Dongar (near Narwar) on 13th October, 1781. This only secured a cessation of hostilities with that Chief who, however, made an offer to interpose his friendly offices at the Puna darbar for bringing about a pacification between the Peshwa and the Company's Government. In order to hasten the conclusion of such a peace, Hastings now charged David Anderson with a deputation to the camp of Sindhia, who possessed great credit and influence in the Maratha State. Anderson left Benares on 5th November 1781, and on the 28th of the month waited upon Col. Muir, then encamped at Etawa, from whom he was instructed to obtain all necessary information and advice before proceeding to Sindhia.

In the meantime, Chait Singh had sent a trusted agent to the camp of Sindhia to plead his cause in advance and propose once again to oppose the British with a strong army. Leaving Bundelkhand Chait Singh himself finally joined the Gwalior Chief in the neighbourhood of Datia (November, 1781).¹ **The needy state of Sindhia's finances**, the natural avarice of the Marathas, and the great wealth which Chait Singh was reported to have carried away with himself evidently influenced Sindhia to welcome the fugitive Rajah in his camp. The following extracts from Col. Muir's letters explain the position:—

“The intelligence I have from my *qasids* is, that Chait Singh's *vakil* has been with Sindhia some time, and has had several private audiences with him. The *vakil* on the part of his master requested the Patil's assistance by secretly consenting to Shivaji

¹ The Peshwa's Government urged Mahadji to support the Benares Rajah and use him as a tool against the English. As the Puna Minister, Nana Fadnavis, wrote to Naro Shivdev, his agent with Mahadji in Malwa, on 27th November, 1781:—“Chait Singh was weakened by Amani (Asaf-ud-daula) going over to the British and by the defeat of his own followers and had consequently to run away. He, however, is a man of spirit and deserves to be helped in his distress, in order to humble the British. So please urge upon Mahadji the great need of supporting the cause of Chait Singh, without caring for any monetary gain in the affair. This is a splendid opportunity.” (Sané's *Kavyetihas Sangraha*, Patren Yadi, No. 294.)

[Vittal] and Ambaji's joining him with their followers with a view to invade his former zamindari: Chait Singh, on the above being complied with, offered not only to pay the arrears of Sindhia's army but to defray the monthly expenses of all those who would attach themselves to his fortunes. The *qasids* further positively assert that all the Nagas in Sindhia's army have withdrawn themselves and joined Chait Singh at Jaunej, where he now is and has been received most cordially." (5th December, 1781.)²

"The *qasids*, who brought me the Patil's letters this morning, bring certain accounts of his having marched from Pechowli and was at the time they were despatched (the 1st instant) encamped between Harerah and Datia; by his letter to me you will learn Chait Singh's being then in his camp, and the desire he seems impressed with of becoming a mediator with you in his favour." (6th December, 1781.)³

On 4th November, 1781, Hastings had written to Sindhia informing him of Anderson's deputation to his camp, but the Gwalior Chief expressed his disinclination to admit the British envoy, until he should receive written authority to do so from the ministers at Puna, whom he had already addressed on the subject. At the same time he sent the following letter to Col. Muir:—

"You formerly wrote me in a letter that on hearing of the friendship subsisting between me and the Company, Rajah Chait Singh had claimed my protection. We have had an interview to-day. I am desirous that as our friendship is of the sincerest, you will write to the Nawab Jeladat Jang that whatever may be for his welfare he will do. Whatever I hear I will write you." (Received on 25th November, 1781.)⁴

Col. Muir, in acknowledging Sindhia's letters on the 19th Zil-hijja [1195 H.=6 December, 1781], took care to point out the impropriety of harbouring an enemy of the Company, when sincere friendship subsisted between them. Hastings, who had learnt from Col. Muir of the compassion extended to Chait Singh by Sindhia, also wrote to the latter on 22nd November, 1781, requesting him to withdraw his protection from the rebel.

Hastings did not read any unfriendly spirit in the conduct of Sindhia towards Chait Singh. This is clearly explained in his letter of 12th December, 1781, to Anderson, extracts from which are quoted below:—

"I can account for his conduct in both instances without imputing it to any design of departing from his engagements

² *Secret Con.* 2nd January, 1782, No. 13.

³ *Secret Con.* 2nd January, 1782, No. 14.

⁴ Sindhia to Col. Muir, received on 25th November, 1781.—Vol. (No. 17) of *Eng. Trans. of Persian Letters Received for 1781*, pp. 376-77.

The fear of committing himself too far in an avowed separation of interests from the State to which he owes his obedience and service may be the cause of his hesitation in the first instance, and the allurements of Chait Singh's treasures his motives in **the other**. Conformably to this construction of his policy, I have written the enclosed letter to him

It is my positive order that if Mahadji Sindhia shall decline to receive your deputation after the explanation which I have given him of its objects, or shall retain Chait Singh in his camp, or otherwise give him ostensible protection, you do instantly on receipt of his answers, should these not prove fully satisfactory on both these points, return to me." (12th December, 1781.)⁵

After a few days Sindhia expressed his willingness to receive the deputation of Anderson, and Hastings passed this intelligence on to the Board at Calcutta:—

"I received letters both from Col. Muir and Mr. Anderson advising me that Mahadji Sindhia had pressinglly invited Mr. Anderson to proceed to him, and that he had rejected all the solicitations of Chait Singh. On those occasions I wrote to Mr. Anderson to prosecute his journey and to pay no regard to my former letter, requiring only the removal of Chait Singh from the presence of Mahadji Sindhia while Mr. Anderson was with him: in the meantime that gentleman having conformed to the substance of my first orders had obtained from Mahadji Sindhia a formal assurance that he would neither accept the solicitations of Chait Singh nor assist him in any way whatever, and that he would even prohibit him and his attendants from his darbar and kachari." (23 January, 1782.)⁶

Sindhia mediated between the Puna Government and the English Company, and the treaty of Salbai, which was ratified by the Peshwa in December, 1782, was the result, and for this service Hastings was sincerely grateful to the Chief of Gwalior. This transaction greatly enhanced Sindhia's influence and power.

To a man of such great influence as Mahadji Sindhia, Chait Singh now appealed for intercession with the English on his behalf. Sindhia consented to do this, although he had very soon to abandon the idea, owing to its impracticability, and tried to befriend the fugitive Rajah in other ways. David Anderson, the English Resident with Sindhia, explains the position

⁵ *Secret Con.* 2nd January, 1782, No. 16.

⁶ *Forrest's Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Dept. of the Government of India, 1772-85*, iii. 834.

at length in the following letter which he addressed to Governor-General Hastings on 8th May, 1783:—

“ I have for some time past (as I expected), been frequently and importunately solicited to write to you in favour of Chait Singh. Sindhia said that he received a letter from him whilst in Bundelkhand assuring him that he had no intention or desire of embroiling him with the English and that all he wanted was his friendly offices and intercession: that on these grounds he had received him into his camp and granted him protection; and that as everything else was now fully settled he hoped that he might use his intercession with effect. I persisted in my refusal to write, and Sindhia was much embarrassed; at one time he proposed to write to you himself; at another he resolved to bring Chait Singh suddenly to my tent, and throw him on my protection. I repeated all the circumstances which had passed betwixt him and the English Government—the peculiar favour with which you had treated him both in procuring him the first grant of the zamindari and in your subsequent conduct towards him—the base ingratitude which he had shewn in return—the danger and actual indignity to which he had exposed your person—the cruelty and inhumanity which had marked and aggravated his rebellion—the proclamation issued by the gentlemen of the Council—the public declaration made by yourself to the principal inhabitants of Benares assembled on the investiture of his successor—the indignation conceived against him by all ranks of men both in India and in Europe. With the knowledge which I possessed of all these facts, I asked with what propriety could I presume to communicate any intercession in favour of a man whose offences were so heinous and unpardonable? or how could I, who had incessantly laboured to promote that firm and cordial friendship which subsisted betwixt Sindhia and you, concur in his writing to you on a subject of this nature when no good effect could possibly result? I reminded him of the circumstances which had passed betwixt him and Tafazzal Husain Khan whilst I remained at Bandere. I observed that he had already done, all that hospitality or even his promise to Chait Singh required. I particularly entreated that he would not take the step which he meditated of bringing Chait Singh to me as it would draw me personally into a most disagreeable dilemma without the smallest prospect of any one consequence favourable to his wishes.

After many messages to and from Bhau Bakhshi at length came to me and assured me that Sindhia was now fully convinced that the wishes he had formed for Chait Singh were totally imprac-

licable, that otherwise he was well assured that I would not have been at so much pains to discourage them; and that he would now endeavour to provide for Chait Singh in some other way. Bhau Bakhshi ascribed the great importunity, which had been shown on this occasion, to the officious intrigues of one of his own servants who had endeavoured to supplant him in Sindhia's favour by flattering him with hopes that he would be more successful than his master to whose remissness he imputed the inefficacy of Sindhia's applications on this subject. Whatever truth there may be in this story, I am in hopes that the matter will now be completely dropped."⁷

Sindhia finally decided to provide his protégé by bestowing a jagir on him, as will be seen from the extracts quoted below from the British Resident's letters:—

"I understand that Sindhia has within these few days offered to settle a jagir of ten lakhs per annum on Chait Singh including Bhind and part of Cutchwagar. It is said that Chait Singh is not satisfied with this provision, and means only to accept of it until something better can be done for him."⁸

"No further application has been made to me since the same period regarding Chait Singh. The district which was proposed to be given him as a jagir in Bhind being situated on the high road and close to the Vizier's frontiers, he has rejected it, and applied for a place on the banks of the river Scind, which was last year reduced from the Rana [of Gohad]. It is called Bijaigarh, and the name, it is said, has influenced Chait Singh in the choice of it. The amount of the intended jagir was at first reported to be ten lakhs. It is now reduced to five, and probably the real revenue will not exceed two or three. The sanads I am to see are not yet made out. But Chait Singh has sent people to ascertain more accurately the state of the district, and on their return I suppose the grant will take place."⁹

⁷ Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, to the Governor-General, dated Camp before Gwalior, 8th May, 1783.—*Secret Con.* 29th May, 1783, No. 6A.

⁸ Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, dated Camp before Gwalior, 20th May, 1783.—*Secret Con.* 16th June, 1783, No. 11.

⁹ Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, dated Sindhia's Camp before Gwalior, 10th June, 1783.—*Secret Con.* 30th June, 1783, No. 2.

The following reference to the jagir granted to Chait Singh is found in a letter which Sadashiv Dinkar (a trusted agent with Sindhia) addressed in June, 1785 (?), to Nana Fadnavis, who had asked for an official account of the income and disbursements of Mahadji, then in great distress for money:—"I beg to report that the right way of managing affairs is first acquire and then spend: but here this principle is not observed. . . . Out of the new territory acquired on the south side of the Chambal, the parganas of Gwalior, Gohad, Bhind and Bhadawar, have been handed over for management to Khande Rao Hari on a payment of ten lakhs a year: then territories amounting to five lakhs in the highest computation, have been assigned in jagir to the Rajah of Benares: a further portion of villages amounting to two lakhs and ten thousand has been handed over to Shivaji Vithal." (Parasnis's *Itihas Sangraha*, Aitihasik Tipanen, v. 9, No. 10.)

The retirement of Warren Hastings from the Governor-Generalship raised in the mind of Chait Singh hopes of his being restored to the *gadi* of Benares, as we learn from the British Resident's letter:—

“ The departure of the late Governor-General for Europe had afforded some grounds of expectation to Chait Singh and his partizans, for his re-establishment at Benares. Mirza Rahim Beg and Madhu Rao Diwan, two of Sindhia's confidential ministers who have chiefly shared in the spoils of his broken fortune, held several consultations on this occasion in conjunction with Himmat Bahadur; and they so far prevailed on Sindhia as to induce him to desire his agent to sound me by proposing several questions in regard to the powers you possessed of altering the arrangements of the late Governor-General and whether it was probable that you would pursue the same system. He went no further and I have great reason to think that he will not renew the subject. Indeed it is with extreme satisfaction I inform you that Sindhia has steadfastly adhered to the assurances he gave me of preventing Chait Singh's introduction to the King. In all public ceremonies in which the whole of the Chiefs in camp have attended and presented their nazars at Court, he has taken particular care that Chait Singh should be kept back; and I have a firm conviction he will continue to adhere to his promise on this occasion, with the same firmness, notwithstanding any attempts that may be made to persuade him to the contrary.”¹⁰

Deprived of his fortune and despairing of restoration through the agency of Mahadji Sindhia, Chait Singh now became anxious to open direct negotiations with the British Resident, as the following extracts will show:—

“ Some days ago I was informed by my servants that a chobdar, sent by Chait Singh, wished to speak with me. I refused him admittance on the score of its being impossible that his master could have any business with me; upon which he sent in a message that he only came to enquire after my health; and that it was his master's wish, he might be permitted to do so every day. As Chait Singh had never before taken any open steps towards the establishment of an intercourse or the appearance of one between us, I was a good deal surprised on this occasion; but I learn that he has of late expressed more than common discontent and even declared his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy of the Vizier. If he really meditates such an intention, Sindhia will easily be able to divert him from it by holding forth hopes on which he has so

¹⁰ Letter from Lt. Anderson, dated Sindhia's Camp near Agra, 23rd March, 1785.—*Secret Con.* 9th April, 1785, No. 14.

long continued to feed him—possibly it is as much for the interest of the Company that he should continue with Sindhia as fly to the Vizier, as in that latter event the hopes and fears of the people at Benares regarding his restoration which have for some time been entirely allayed, might again be roused.”¹¹

The nature of Chait Singh’s connection with Sindhia is described fully in the following letter of Jas. Anderson:—

“All the promises which Sindhia made of never suffering him to appear at his darbar either on public or private occasions, during the presence of the English Resident, and of his never being presented to the King have been faithfully adhered to. In other respects he has affected to pay him considerable attention; but there is every reason to believe that in this, so far as relates to us, he has been actuated by no improper motive. The truth is Chait Singh ever since his arrival in Camp, has been merely a subject of prey to Sindhia and his greedy dependents; and now that little or nothing is left to him, he finds that all their promises and professions have been vain and delusive. On this account he has of late expressed much dissatisfaction and has sometimes talked of quitting the camp. On these occasions, Sindhia has always taken means to soothe him with a number of hopes and assurances; and on these grounds, reports have been constantly propagated and believed in our provinces, of its being his intention to aid Chait Singh in his re-establishment at Benares. Intelligence of this kind has been at times conveyed to me from various channels, but I have thought it prudent not only to avoid any mention of the subject to Sindhia, but even to slight and disregard it entirely. I am willing to believe that by this means a difficulty has been avoided which by a different line of conduct might have been unnecessarily created. Chait Singh is now completely fallen and none has a more contemptible opinion of him than Sindhia. He knows that he is incapable even of being used as an instrument, and if ever he should dare to make an attempt on the province of Benares, it would be for himself and not for Chait Singh.

I have been induced to be thus particular on this subject because it is possible that your Lordship may still hear reports of this kind. It is Chait Singh’s interest to propagate them, and this

¹¹ Jas. Anderson, to Governor-General, dated Sindhia’s Camp at Muttra, 25th July, 1786.—*Secret Con.* 22nd August, 1786, No. 27.

In another letter, dated Agra, 24th December, 1786, the then British Resident with Sindhia, Capt. W. Kirkpatrick, reported to the Governor-General as follows:—

“I conceive it proper to inform your Lordship, that a letter from Rajah Chait Singh was yesterday put into my hands, as I was passing through the town. As it had no seal I asked the bearer from whom he had received it, and though it is probable he had been otherwise instructed, he did not hesitate to acquaint me, upon which I returned it to him unopened.”—*Secret Con.* 24th January, 1787, No. 9.

he finds it not difficult to effect, from the easy credulity of the people and the means he possesses from some old connections in the provinces. As any solicitude however about these would give them a degree of weight to which they are not otherwise entitled, I am convinced it will be prudent to continue to overlook them entirely."¹²

Chait Singh gradually sank into insignificance and in January, 1787, Cornwallis instructed the Resident Kirkpatrick to treat with indifference any attentions which might be shown to the Rajah at the Court of Sindhia:—

“ Mr. Anderson was, I find, furnished with positive orders to demand and take his leave of Mahadji Sindhia in case he should introduce Chait Singh to the King. The circumstances which induced the necessity of such rigid injunctions are now changed, and I think it necessary to release you entirely from these orders. The protection originally granted by Sindhia to Chait Singh took place before we entered into any treaty with him and nothing can render Chait Singh of consequence but the anxiety we may manifest regarding him. It seems therefore advisable to treat with perfect indifference any attentions which may be shown to him. All that it is now necessary to exact is that he shall never be suffered to appear, either on public or private occasions, at the King's or Mahadji Sindhia's darbar in your presence.”¹³

On 19th July, 1787, Kirkpatrick reported from Fattchgarh as follows:—

“ I am informed that Chait Singh has deputed one of his confidential servants named Ghulam Husain Khan to Lucknow for the purpose of meeting your Lordship.”¹⁴

I have not found any further reference to Chait Singh in the Public Records. He died at Gwalior in 1810.¹⁵

Commercial and Social Intercourse between the Honourable East India Company and the Poona Court in the Eighteenth Century.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.)

Introduction.—“ The national advantages which Great Britain derives from her commerce with India seems not only to have fixed the general

¹² Jas. Anderson to Governor-General Cornwallis, dated Muttra, 19th October, 1786.—*Secret Con.* 24th November, 1786. No. 6.

¹³ Lord Cornwallis to Capt. Kirkpatrick, Resident with Mahadji Sindhia.—*Secret Con.* 24th January, 1787, No. 12.

¹⁴ *Secret Proceedings* 28th August, 1787, p. 4248.

¹⁵ Atkinson's *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, pt. 1, “ Benares.”

attention of all the nations of Europe but is to be considered the most extensive and lucrative branch of her trade; every honest effort, therefore, that can tend to enlarge those commercial advantages will no doubt receive a liberal encouragement from that Government who knows no greater gratification than the countenancing and rewarding virtuous actions." Thus wrote ¹ Captain R. Greene to the Governor-General, the Earl of Mornington (the Marquis Wellesley), from *zillah* Bihar on the 1st of June 1798. The inestimable value and advantages of Indian trade to the British people, which Captain Greene refers to in the extract of his letter so late as the year 1798, was realised nearly two centuries before by a band of patriotic and adventurous Englishmen, who in the year 1600 established a trading company in the East, under the name of the Honourable East India Company for the benefit of their Mother Country. This Company, as every student knows, came into commercial and social contact with many nations of India during the course of its activities among whom, as we shall subsequently see, the Mahrattas stand prominently.

The survival of the fittest.—It is well-known to the students of history how the Indian trade of the Company gradually became the "most extensive and lucrative branch of her trade" and how the "national advantages derived by Great Britain from this trade fixed the general attention of all the nations of Europe". Among other European nations the Dutch, the French, the Danes, the German and the Swedes successively established their trading centres in India between the year 1602 and 1731 to oust the English from their commercial supremacy. But the survival of the fittest is fact and not fiction; thus the English in India by persistently following the policy of fair-play, self-restraint and toleration backed by "a liberal encouragement from their Government", not only emerged as winners in the tedious commercial struggle with European nations, but succeeded as well in building up an Empire in the East, the like of which the ancient Persians, Greeks and Romans could only conceive but never accomplish.

The East India Company's first commercial treaty with the Mahratta.—We find from the records ² that after consolidating their trade in Bengal for nearly a century since the foundation of the Hooghly Factory in 1640, the Honourable East India Company turned their attention towards "the land of the Peshwas" with a view to extend their trade in their territories. In the month of July 1739, they entered into commercial relationship with the Mahrattas by signing a treaty at Bassein. In this transaction, Captain Inchbird was appointed as the plenipotentiary of the British Government, while Chimnaji Appa, brother and *Dewan* of the then reigning Peshwa, Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan, acted on behalf of the Mahrattas. For the full terms of this treaty the student is referred to the records. From the papers embodying it, we find that iron, lead, brimstone, saltpetre, dammar, sailcloth and coir formed the chief articles of trade in the Mahratta countries in the

¹ Mily. O. C., 5 June, 1800, No. 8.

² Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

first half of the eighteenth century, and that the rivers Nagotam, Penn and Bancote, whose names are now forgotten, once formed the high waterways through which the Mahratta trading vessels used to ply.

Mughal affairs in 1739.—Let us now turn for a moment to the affairs of the Mughal Court at Delhi. At the time when the commercial *pour-parlers* were going on between the English and the Mahrattas, Nadir Shah, the Persian, swept down like a whirlwind from the north-west and after defeating the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shah, entered the Imperial Capital. After having subjected Delhi to a fifty-eight days' sack accompanied by slaughter, he left the city with booty estimated at 32 crores of rupees. In this invasion the magnificent Peacock Throne of the Great Mughal, Shah Jahan—the pride of Mughal grandeur in India—vanished for ever from the confines of Hindustan. Thus under the shadow of a dark calamity did the Honourable East India Company enter into commercial relations with the Mahrattas in the year 1739.

Second commercial treaty.—Seventeen years after the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, another treaty for the protection of each other's commercial rights and privileges was found imperative. On the 12th of October 1756, Governor Bouchier concluded another commercial treaty with the third Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan. For the terms of the treaty the student is again referred to the records.³ We find from the treaty that the Dutch were also trading at the time with the Mahrattas, and that the port of Rajapur was used by them for unloading their goods. It says: "The Dutch goods will not be permitted to be landed at Rajapur nor their trade suffered to be carried on there, concerning which the Mahrattas will give proper orders and the people under the Mahratta Government are not to trade at Rajapur." Curiously enough, the Mughal Empire in India this year again terribly suffered from the third inroad of the Afghan invader, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Imperial capital being sacked by him.

Third commercial treaty.—Five years after the conclusion of the second commercial treaty, another was found essential by the Honourable East India Company to protect their trading vessels and merchandise from the unjust and illegal interference of the Mahratta officials. The new treaty was concluded between the Governor Crommelin and the 4th Peshawa, Madhu Rao Balaji, on the 14th September 1761. For the terms of the treaty,⁴ the student is once more referred to the records. The year was highly disastrous to the Mahrattas for but eight months before their rising power in India had suffered a crushing blow by the combined armies of the Afghans and the Mughals on the field of Panipat.

The crumbling of an empire.—The fateful year of 1761 in which the treaty was concluded forms an important epoch in the annals of India. The

³ Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

⁴ Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

attention of all the nations of Europe but is to be considered the most extensive and lucrative branch of her trade; every honest effort, therefore, that can tend to enlarge those commercial advantages will no doubt receive a liberal encouragement from that Government who knows no greater gratification than the countenancing and rewarding virtuous actions." Thus wrote ¹ Captain R. Greene to the Governor-General, the Earl of Mornington (the Marquis Wellesley), from *zillah* Bihar on the 1st of June 1798. The inestimable value and advantages of Indian trade to the British people, which Captain Greene refers to in the extract of his letter so late as the year 1798, was realised nearly two centuries before by a band of patriotic and adventurous Englishmen, who in the year 1600 established a trading company in the East, under the name of the Honourable East India Company for the benefit of their Mother Country. This Company, as every student knows, came into commercial and social contact with many nations of India during the course of its activities among whom, as we shall subsequently see, the Mahrattas stand prominently.

The survival of the fittest.—It is well-known to the students of history how the Indian trade of the Company gradually became the "most extensive and lucrative branch of her trade" and how the "national advantages derived by Great Britain from this trade fixed the general attention of all the nations of Europe". Among other European nations the Dutch, the French, the Danes, the German and the Swedes successively established their trading centres in India between the year 1602 and 1731 to oust the English from their commercial supremacy. But the survival of the fittest is fact and not fiction; thus the English in India by persistently following the policy of fair-play, self-restraint and toleration backed by "a liberal encouragement from their Government", not only emerged as winners in the tedious commercial struggle with European nations, but succeeded as well in building up an Empire in the East, the like of which the ancient Persians, Greeks and Romans could only conceive but never accomplish.

The East India Company's first commercial treaty with the Mahratta.—We find from the records ² that after consolidating their trade in Bengal for nearly a century since the foundation of the Hooghly Factory in 1640, the Honourable East India Company turned their attention towards "the land of the Peshwas" with a view to extend their trade in their territories. In the month of July 1739, they entered into commercial relationship with the Mahrattas by signing a treaty at Bassein. In this transaction, Captain Inchbird was appointed as the plenipotentiary of the British Government, while Chimnaji Appa, brother and *Dewan* of the then reigning Peshwa, Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan, acted on behalf of the Mahrattas. For the full terms of this treaty the student is referred to the records. From the papers embodying it, we find that iron, lead, brimstone, saltpetre, dammar, sailcloth and coir formed the chief articles of trade in the Mahratta countries in the

¹ Mily. O. C., 5 June, 1800, No. 8.

² Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

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great empire of the Mughals which was reared up by Babar on the field of Panipat 235 years ago was crumbling to pieces. The Emperor, Shah Alum, was wandering about in the confines of Behar as a fugitive. Ahmad Shah Durrani, the victor of the third battle of Panipat, was the undisputed master of Hindustan. In the districts around Delhi, the Jats, on one side, and the Rohillas, on the other, were consolidating the power they had usurped. The Mahratta dream of universal empire in India under a Hindu sceptre was shattered for ever on the field of Panipat and although the fourth Peshwa, Madhu Rao Balaji, was still at the head of the Mahratta confederacy, its power was henceforth partitioned among the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Bhonsla of Nagpur, Holkar of Indore and Sindhia of Gwalior, all of whom were seldom at peace with one another. The Nizam of Hyderabad had been crippled by the surrender of some of his most valuable districts to the Mahrattas. The power of the French was broken. In southern India, Hyder Ali was on the point of grasping the supreme control in Mysore, and the English, since their success on the field of Plassey in 1757, were establishing and consolidating their predominance in Bengal and in the valley of the Ganges. Such were the vicissitudes of the times.

The East India Company's social intercourse with the Mahrattas.—With the steady progress of commercial relationship between the Honourable East India Company and the Mahrattas since 1739, a cordial feeling and goodwill naturally grew up. The first practical evidence of this friendship was given by the 6th Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan, who through his *wakil* sent some valuable gifts ⁵ to General Sir John Clavering and Mr. Richard Barwell on the 6th August 1777. Thus the foundation of social relationship between the Honourable East India Company and the Poona Court was laid by the latter in the year 1777.

The First Mahratta War.—The course of this commercial and social amity between the Honourable East India Company and the Mahratta Court which had hitherto run smoothly was somewhat disturbed by the outbreak of the First Mahratta War in 1779.

Fourth commercial treaty.—On the conclusion of this war the fourth commercial treaty was found essential to safeguard the trading interests of both parties which had suffered during the war. This treaty between the British Government and the Poona Court was signed at Salbai in the month of May 1782.

Resumption of social intercourse.—The records between the years 1783 and 1788 are silent about the exchange of complimentary gifts between the two Governments which ceased for some time after the First Mahratta War. The first instance of "the commencement of the social intercourse" by means of gifts and presents after the war occurs towards the end of the

⁵ Pub. O. C., 11 Aug. 1777, No. A; see also Appendix.

year 1788. From the letter⁶ of the Board to C. W. Malet,⁷ British Resident at Poona, dated the Council Chamber, 30th December 1788, it may be found that the British Government sent about this time to the Poona Court (the Mahratta Court) a bale consisting of the finest fabrics of Bengal as a complimentary gift. Again, we find, in the letter⁸ of Malet to the Board, dated Poona, January 1789, that in the Christmas of the year 1788 he sent to the Poona Court a gift consisting of fruits and sweetmeats. We also find from this letter that about this time the Mahratta Court also sent to the British Government as a present “a diamond ring and a string of pearls”. Lastly we find in the records⁹ that on the 19th and the 22nd June 1789 the Mahratta Court sent to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, several articles of the Deccan fabrics “to convey their sense of regard and respect for the British Government”.

The East India Company's endeavours to introduce Bengal fabrics in the Mahratta territories.—Careful readers of the records will find that in the selection of the presents for the Mahratta Court, the Honourable East India Company always paid particular attention to the “muslin cloths and fine white fabrics manufactured in Bengal” with a view to their introduction and circulation in the Mahratta countries and in the Deccan. The following extract from Malet's letter¹⁰ to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, the 26th June 1789, will elucidate matters:—

“Your Lordship will recollect that the commencement of the intercourse of presents originated in the hope of making it conducive to the foundation of commercial advantages by the introduction of the white cloths of Bengal for the consumption of this (Mahratta) country. In this idea, permit me, my lord, to submit to your consideration the propriety of sending, after a proper interval, another allotment of Bengal manufactures, to be carefully composed of the finest kinds of flowered muslins, such as *Agabannoo tartore*, but above all of the most delicate *shubnum*. for none but the very finest textures will answer your Lordship's intention of conveying satisfaction to the Mahratta people, whose affectation of delicacy in their dress is excessive.”

The East India Company's endeavours to introduce English wares and scientific goods in the Peshwa's dominions.—Another interesting point which we gather from the records is that this “social intercourse of presents” between the Honourable Company and the Mahrattas gave Malet a golden opportunity to introduce into the Peshwa's dominions the scientific and geographical goods manufactured in England and thus gradually helped

⁶ Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 27.

⁷ Sir Charles Warre Malet was the eldest son of the Rev. Alexander Malet Rector of Combe Florey, Somerset. At an early age he entered the service of the Honourable East India Company and after filling various posts, including a mission to the Great Moghal, he was, in 1785, appointed Resident Minister at Poona at the Court of the Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan. Subsequently Malet was for some time acting Governor of Bombay up to the year 1798 when he retired from service returning Home. He was created a baronet on 24 Feb. 1791. He was an F.R.S. and an F.S.A. and died in 1815. (Gent. Magazine, 1815, Part I, page 185.)

⁸ Pub. O. C., 16 Mar. 1789, No. 7.

⁹ Pub. O. C., 5 Aug. 1789, No. 5; 23 Oct. 1789, Nos. 4-6.

¹⁰ Pub. O. C., 5 Aug. 1789, No. 5.

to “propagate among the Mahrattas a love and esteem for the arts and sciences of England”. The following extract from the letter ¹¹ of Malet to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, the 26th June 1789, is to the point:—

“As, however, in the prosecution of this (social) intercourse, I should be glad to convert it to the propagation of an esteem and love for the arts and sciences of our native country (England) and as the Mahratta Minister has on more occasion than one desired me to give the young Peshwa an idea of our geographical system, which I have compiled as well as my scanty collection of maps permitted, I have to crave your Lordship’s indulgence in suggesting your commissioning, or permitting me to commission, from England to Bombay, an orrery,* a pair of globes, a set of instruments and a set of the largest and best coloured maps procurable; in which great attention should be paid to the durability of the articles and the real goodness of their workmanship, particularly in the orrery and globes as none but of the strongest and best materials would stand in this country, and the smallest disorder would render them totally useless where no damage can be repaired.”

Rules against acceptance of complimentary gifts by the Company’s servants.—From the records ¹² which deal with the exchange of presents between the Company and the Mahratta Court, we find that the English officers were debarred by “the laws of England” from accepting any complimentary presents from any source whatever on their own account but had to credit them to the account of the Honourable Company. As this law also applied to the complimentary gifts from the Peshwa’s Court, it was taken as a national affront and insult by the Mahratta Government. Malet brought this fact to the notice of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, in his letters of the 13th and 14th February 1789 and pointed out to him that he (Malet) “experiences much inconvenience and embarrassment in his intercourse in public business with the Peshwa and his Ministers by the prohibition under which he (Malet) had been laid against accepting complimentary presents”. Lord Cornwallis, accordingly, thought it necessary to relax the rule relating to the acceptance of complimentary gifts on the part of the Company’s servants, and in his letter to Malet, dated Fort William, 16th March 1789, wrote as follows:—

“I have after very mature deliberation thought it incumbent upon me, though not without some degree of reluctance, to relax on that head of your instructions (*i.e.*, propriety of accepting complimentary gifts).”

“I had long entertained hopes that the Mahratta Ministers would after your explanations have clearly seen that no just cause was given to them for offence by our adopting a line of conduct which we declared to be conformable to instructions from home, as well as to our own national customs; but however unreasonable it may be on them to persevere in expecting the con-

¹¹ Pub. O. C., 5 Aug. 1789, No. 5.

* The name is derived from Fourth Earl of Orrery (1676-1731), for whom one of these astronomical instruments was first made.

¹² Pub. O. C., 11 Aug. 1777, No. A; 16 Mar. 1789, No. 9.

tinuance of an acquiescence on our part with the customs of India, I think it more prudent to desist from a punctilious observance of the rule which I had wished to establish rather than run the risk of embarrassing and impeding essential points of public business by the irritation and disgust which a constant refusal to comply with that part of their manners and customs in ceremonial intercourse would probably occasion.”

Records on the commercial history of the Mahrattas of the eighteenth century.—The archives of the Imperial Record Department contain several records ¹³ of the latter half of the eighteenth century which supply ample materials for writing an interesting chapter on the commercial and economic history of the Peshwa's dominions of that period. These records deal with the accounts of the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahrattas, of the state of the trade which was then carried on between the Company and the Mahrattas, of the gradual expansion of the city of Poona, of the true sources of the wealth of the Mahratta State, of the imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta countries, of the agriculture, commerce and topography of the Deccan and the contiguous countries, of the state of the then Mahratta Government and of the Mughal rule before its final disruption. Among these papers, the letter ¹⁴ written by Malet to Lord Cornwallis from Poona on the 8th of August 1788 stands conspicuous. This letter forms the report which Malet sent to the Governor-General in reply to his enquiry of the 28th November 1787, regarding “the present and past state of the commercial intercourse between the Company's territories and those of the Mahrattas”. The intention ¹⁵ of Lord Cornwallis in asking this report from Malet was “to form a judgment how far the aforesaid commercial intercourse may admit of an increase advantageous to both sides”.

Malet's report on the Mahratta countries.—The report of Malet is a mine of information for the students of the Mahratta history of the time. It draws a dark picture of the system of government which was then in vogue at Poona, the headquarters of the Mahratta Government, and of the principles which influenced the rulers of it—things which were, according to him, highly prejudicial to the growth of English commerce in their countries during that period. The following extracts from the report in question throw a flood of light on this point as well as on various other subjects relating to contemporary Mahratta history:—

“The Peshwa administration is on every act more or less influenced by that avarice which so invariably and so strongly marks the Brahmin character; while mean in its genius and grasping in its policy, it frequently mistakes the mode of gratifying its ruling passion averse from, and probably ignorant of the systematic and equitable principles on which alone commerce can be rendered flourishing by encouraging the industry in the security and happiness of the subject. Its chief attention seems directed to conquest

¹³ Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, Nos. 25-29.

¹⁴ Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

¹⁵ Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25 (1st para.).

and depredation giving employment at once to the desultory military spirit of the Mahrattas and supplying the State and the chief individual Brahmin with wealth and power."

"Commerce, but more especially foreign, less understood, would be more slow and precarious in its operation. The arrangements necessary for its effectual protection are incompatible with that spirit of expedient and venality by which every thing is influenced at Poona. They would in some measure intrench upon the arrogant principles of aristocracy by a general diffusion of wealth and interfere with the system of farms which is universally adopted from the smallest branch of the customs to the disposal of provinces whence the subject, instead of experiencing the uniform and vigorous protection of a wise Government is cruelly sacrificed to the rapacity and oppression of the highest bidder."

"The state of the numerous ports of the Mahratta Empire on the coast of Malabar and the Guzarat, but more especially the former, evinces a spirit hostile to commerce and I have not a doubt were its fleet equal to the end (*sic*) but that it would be instantly converted to the same predatory purpose at sea as its armies are by land as it now is against all those whom it can master. This perhaps is fortunate for us as presenting a bar to the admission and rivalry of our European neighbours though certainly the customs of a single year in a well frequented port, not to mention the numberless advantages of population, etc., would greatly exceed the profits of plunder after deducting the expense which must be great in keeping up a number of piratical vessels."

"The rich and commercial kingdom of Guzarat (every town of which is or was inhabited by rich Banians, a tribe as attached to commerce as any other tribe of the Hindus to its hereditary pursuits) flourished infinitely more by its traffic during the violent convulsions of the Mughal Government, previous to the establishment of the Mahratta power, than it ever has since that event, though time and tranquillity have given ample leisure for doing away the effects of conquest and the transfer of dominion."

Malet's remarks on the Mughal Government.—"The Mughals, magnificent and ostentatious, required every article of luxury. Towns and cities grew out of this spirit. The Brahmins and Mahrattas, less refined and more parsimonious, are averse from and ignorant of those costly modes of expense. Hence those towns and cities, deprived of the cause of their existence, are mouldering fast into ruin and their wealthier inhabitants have sunk under or fled from the rapacity of their new masters. In this cause might probably be traced the seeds of the present drooping commercial state of all those provinces of Hindusthan that have been subjected to the Mahratta power under which the Provincial moneyed men, not to mention the substantial landholders, have been subjected to oppressions and exactions. Personal property has become insecure. Industry has failed; and aristocratical wealth, arising from the soil and the labours of the peasantry, has succeeded which is confined to the conquerors; and Poona (the headquarters

of the Peshwa Government) has become an insatiable sink into which vast treasures have been poured scarce ever again to circulate."

"This was not the case under the Mughals. The riches carried annually to Delhi did not stagnate there. The internal commerce of the Empire and the spirit of the people gave full employment to the foreign influx of wealth. The productions of each province and the performances of every art were in high demand and the pay of the vast armies of the Empire kept pace in magnificence with every other article of expense. Hence arose numberless channels through which the wealth of the Empire was again circulated to its extreme branches."

"The mere accumulation of riches by the inhabitants of an Empire is vicious and sordid but much more so when it becomes the sole object of the rulers. A wise legislature studies to make them the stimulatives of genius, of sciences, of agriculture and of commerce, to convert them to the consumption of the produce of industry and so to arrange them as that the coffers of the State may be replenished from the redundancy of the subject but this system is not known at Poona."

Malet on the revenue policy of the Mahrattas.—The following comments of Malet on the Mahratta fiscal policy, on the principal expedients which they resorted to for the supply of their revenues and on the true sources of the wealth of their State amply repay perusal:—

"The fixed and grand source of the Mahratta State's revenue is agriculture, the best perhaps on which a nation can depend. That it has such a revenue is the necessary consequence of possessing an immense tract of productive domain. That it is not more productive but, on the contrary, that it labours under every disadvantage proceeds from a faulty constitution. The second is its tribute, fixed by various denominations on the greatest part of Hindusthan. The third, the predatory collections of its armies. The fourth, its domestic sequestrations and the last, its collections on the commerce of the Empire which are comparatively trifling and insignificant."

The following account of the gradual expansion of the city of Poona in the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the increase in the number of its inhabitants and of the cause from which it proceeded will prove interesting to the reader:—

"Poona is still a large village to which people of all denominations and all professions are now beginning to resort from the other ruined parts of Hindusthan, particularly from the decayed Mughal cities. Its reputation for security, since the two abortive expeditions from Bombay, has greatly tended to promote its increase and population as the wealthier Brahmins have in consequence begun to employ some part of their hidden riches in building, which single circumstance necessarily gives employment to a great number and a great variety of artificers as the wants attendant on large buildings are endless."

“ The circumstances which are above enumerated of the great wealth of the Brahmins and the great increase of Poona in buildings and inhabitants, must, I should imagine, cause a greater demand for the articles which can be furnished only from Bombay than heretofore.”

Bengal and Guzarat trade compared.—The following extracts from Malet's report give to the students of the economic history of India some interesting accounts of the agriculture, commerce and manufactures of Bengal as also of Guzarat during the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the effects which the First Mahratta War (1779-81) subsequently produced on the Bengal-Mahratta trade:—

“ It has been suggested to me that the trade of Bengal raw silk and piece-goods with the Mahratta countries through the channel of Bombay has greatly decreased of late years, which decrease is imputed to the interruption caused by the war, and the consequent diversion of that trade into other channels. It appears, however, from the “ comparative account of imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta territories ” ¹⁶ that the war has not been productive of this effect. But even allowing that it had, I presume, that the loss would have been confined to Bombay in being deprived of the beneficial consequences of commercial mediation, but that the consumption of the produce of Bengal would not have been affected since other channels by sea and land present themselves to supply the stoppage of intercourse with Bombay. Hence arises a conclusion that hostility with the Poona Government is not in any case likely to be attended with commercial prejudice to Bengal.”

“ I have been informed by Governor Ramsay that the demand for the Guzarat cotton in Bengal has greatly decreased of late years owing to the increased cultivation of it at home. This seems to convey a proof of the increase of industry and population in the latter province and as the same gentleman mentions likewise a great decrease in the importation of raw silk at Bombay, this likewise may be imputed to a greater appropriation of that article to the establishment of new or the multiplication of old manufactures at home.”

“ It is a very curious circumstance in commercial intercourse that these two richest provinces of Hindusthan, I mean, Guzarat and Bengal, used regularly to exchange their respective commodities of silk and cotton; the former, the produce of Bengal, was manufactured in the highest perfection at and distributed all over the Eastern World from, Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzarat; the latter, the growth of Guzarat, was distributed in a still greater degree of delicacy and perfection from the looms of Bengal. These, with spices, were the articles by which the specie of the West has from time immemorial been drawn to the East.”

“ If therefore by improving its manufactures of silk, Bengal can at all rival those of Guzarat, the advantage of its being a domestic produce will be

decisive while, on the other hand, should it emancipate itself from all dependance of Guzarat for cotton (in the fabric of which it confessedly excels all the world) by cultivating sufficient for its manufactures, the concentration of the produce and manufacture of those two grand articles in itself must necessarily conduce greatly to the increase of its population and as necessarily draw into its circulation the specie of the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia, not to mention that of Europe, and a large portion of that of the rest of Hindusthan (though the fabric and sale of its finest white cloths have suffered an irrecoverable blow in the annihilation of the Mughal Empire, in the elegance and refinement of which sprang their chief consumption); and in addition to its rice, saltpetre, opium, sugar, etc., to which indigo has lately been added, present, as being the produce of the soil, the most inexhaustible, most unfailing and most desirable sources of wealth. I am informed that several families of Guzarat silk manufacturers, *soucars* and others, distressed by the oppressions of the farmers of this State who rule that Province, have fled to and settled at Benares where they practise their former occupation."

Further materials regarding the commercial history of the Mahrattas.—Malet enclosed with his report some papers which are highly useful to students of history. Among these papers the following are worthy of our attention:—

(1) *First Enclosure.*—Statement of charges and mode of commercial conveyance between Poona and Goa and with other manufacturing towns of the Company's Eastern territories (Bengal) during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

This enclosure gives us a general view of the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahratta countries independent of their intercourse with Bombay. It also conveys important information regarding the trade and manufactures of Bengal. From these papers it is gathered that tin, pepper, dry coconuts, betelnuts, spices, quick-silver, lead, saffron, asafœtida, vermilion, copper, wax-candles, broad cloth, raw silk and muskets were the principal articles which used to come from Goa to Poona by means of bullocks or boats. Again we find that piece-goods, white and coloured and plain cotton mixed with silk used to come from Narronpoynt (North of the Krishna river) to Poona by means of bullocks. *Chintzes* and white cloths used to come from Burhanpur (on the Tapti river) to Poona by means of bullocks and *tatoos* (ponies). The *chintzes* of this city were held in high esteem at the city of Poona. A *chintz* turban, *seyla* and *jammah* of the best fabric would cost upwards of rupees one thousand. We again find that *seylas*, turbans, *saris*, white and coloured, plain and mixed, used to come from Peytun (on the Wain-Ganga river) to Poona by means of bullocks, and mixed silk and cotton brocaded cloths, used to come from Aurangabad (in Nizam Ali's dominions) to Poona by means of the same conveyance. White cotton piece-goods used to come from Shagur (on the Wain-Ganga river) to Poona also by means of bullocks. Benares and Bengal cotton and silk piece-goods

used to come from Mirzapore (on the Ganges) to Nagpur by means of bullocks. Nagpur used to trade with Omrahpur in Benares and Bengal cotton and silk piece-goods and *vice versâ* and bullocks were employed as the means of conveyance.

The following extracts from this enclosure should prove of interest to the readers :—

Notes on commercial topics from Malet's report.—(a) “ The goods that reach Poona by the Mirzapore route are chiefly *petambiers* and *taftas*. Raw silk is taken up at Aurangabad and other places on the road. The principal importation of Bengal goods is said to be through Bombay; but it does not appear that the white piece-goods of Bengal are in that demand in the Deccan which their quality seems to merit.”

(b) “ The mixed silk and cotton brocaded cloths which are manufactured in the city of Aurangabad are inferior to those of Guzarat and the city is almost depopulated by the oppression of the Government straitened as it is by the neighbourhood and usurpations of this (*sic*) to which the decline of its trade with the Carnatic may probably be added. Great quantities of Bengal raw silk were formerly manufactured in this city and brought in by the way of Benares and Bombay. The quality is now greatly fallen off.”

(c) “ The *chintzes* of the city of Burhanpur are in very high esteem at the city of Poona. A *chintz* turban, *seyla* and *jammah* of the best fabric will cost upwards of a thousand rupees.”

(2) *Second Enclosure.*—Statements of the imports and exports between Bombay and Poona between the years 1773 and 1787 by Governor Ramsay from the Bombay Custom House records. We find from the records that these “ Statements ” also speak of imports and exports at the subordinate port of Mahim on the northern extremity of the Island of Bombay.

This enclosure makes it clear that the balance of trade between Bombay and the Mahratta countries during the years mentioned in it was greatly in favour of the former as is evidenced by the costly nature of many of the export articles. It can further be seen that some of the articles imported at Bombay from Poona were again exported to advantage.

(3) *Third Enclosure.*—Comparative account of imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta territories during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The above enclosure reveals to us the extraordinary fact that in spite of the First Mahratta War the imports at Bombay during that war were decidedly greater and that the exports, except in the article of broad cloth, were not very deficient.

(4) *Fourth Enclosure.*—Estimates of charges on goods between Bombay and Poona including expense of carriage and customs.

This paper furnishes an "idea of an extraordinary want of minuteness and discrimination on the part of the Poona Court in the arrangement of the imposts on the principal articles of commerce between Bombay and Poona; while, on the other hand, the simple mode that is substituted to that of fixing the imposts on a valuation of the articles relieves the merchant from the vexatious cavil and altercation which must otherwise ensue with a grasping tenacious farmer of the revenue". The enclosure further gives us information as to the mode of conveyance adopted towards the latter half of the eighteenth century in certain parts of the Mahratta country for carrying goods and merchandise. The paper says:—

"The ruggedness of the country between Panwell and Poona, but more particularly the impracticability of the *Ghauts* to any wheeled or draft conveyance, confines the whole of the carriage to bullocks with the exception of a few *tatoos*."

These enclosures ¹⁷ are too lengthy for reproduction.

Malet's description of the Deccan and the adjoining countries.—The concluding portion of Malet's report gives a fascinating account of the commerce and topography of the Deccan and of the adjoining countries and presents vividly many interesting points relating to the past history of several important Indian cities of that period. The following extract is reproduced:—

"Exclusive of the above principal piece-goods manufactories (Curpa, Narronpoynt, Burhanpur, Mirzapore and Shagur) there are several other towns of less note as Mandeer, Bhur, Edghere (*sic*) and Jalna. The Deccan is supplied with its best silk goods, *Kinkhabs*, etc., from Guzarat; opium from Malwa; matchlocks, bows and swords are brought from the Northern parts of Hindusthan, from Ahmedabad and other places, and some are manufactured in the Muhammadan cities of Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Bijapur. A considerable quantity of Masulipatam *chintz* reaches the Deccan which is used for making quilted coats and various other kinds of quilting. The turbans of that country are also good, but they are too short for the fashion of this country."

"Poona cannot boast of the establishment of a single manufacture, for surely the practice of a few fugitive and temporary weavers from Aurangabad do not yet entitle it to the name of possessing a manufacture. The great vales (if a space of country full of distinct hills but bounded by long ranges can be called so) into which the Deccan is divided are well furnished with rivulets, most of which might I conceive, even in their present unimproved state, be used to advantage, during the rainy season, to promote the interior carriage of the country; but except the transportation of a very few rafts of timber, I do not observe that the smallest benefit is derived from them in that way. The long courses of the *Gunga* (Wain-Ganga) and the Kistna might certainly be converted to great commercial advantage, not to mention the innu-

¹⁷ Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

merable less important streams that flow into them; but as the direction of all of them is ultimately the same the distant communication across that direction must necessarily intersect those ranges of hills which give direction to the rivers, and by which, as already observed, the whole country is divided. The rugged and unimproved passes of those ranges render bullocks the only practicable mode of conveyance though carts of a very rude construction are used by the villagers for the conveyance of grain within the different ranges, but even in those spaces, the country is extremely uneven and stony."

"I am informed that formerly there was a great mart for the horses of the Deccan and the camels of Marwar at the great annual *Jattr* of Tripetty (a town and hill temple in Madras) which is held in the month of October. Great quantities of the brocade and silk goods of Aurangabad and the Guzarat, with other piece-goods, used to go with the caravans from the Deccan, whence were brought in exchange several articles of the fabric of the Lower Carnatic. This great assembly of distant nations at Tripetty was on religious principles and the same strong attraction operates the same very beneficial effect throughout, I believe, the whole of Hindusthan. It is a great pity that the interests and happiness of mankind, so closely connected and so eminently promoted by such an intercourse, should be exposed to the caprice and the passions of princes. The route of the Deccan caravans to Tripetty was, I am informed, originally through Curpa. The violences of the Pathan Chief of that place, while it was an Independency, diverted it further to the Southward, through the territory of Hyder Ali; and the late war between that Prince and the Company drove it back again still further to the Northward through Hyderabad; but Tipu Sultan is now, I understand, using his utmost efforts to bring this golden current into its ancient channel."

Lord Cornwallis on Bengal trade.—From the records it appears that after reading Malet's report Lord Cornwallis wrote him a letter¹⁸ on the 30th of October 1788, from Fort William, instructing him to convert his experience of the Mahratta countries "to the desirable purposes of improving the revenues of Bengal by increasing her trade and promoting the sale of her manufactures in those countries". In this letter he requests Malet "to encourage those people who have taken refuge to the city of Poona from the decayed Mughal towns of Hindusthan to seek an asylum in the Company's territories in Bengal" and also to invite "the Burhanpur manufacturers of *chintz* and the ingenious artists of all denominations to settle with their families under the protection of the Company, especially those who can introduce any new arts or manufactures or improve such as are already established in Bengal".

Malet's novel suggestions.—So far we have seen that the Honourable East India Company used to draw Indian wealth by means of commerce for "the national advantages of Great Britain". But in the records it is noted that Malet in his letter¹⁹ to Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, January 1789, suggested a novel method of attaining the same object. This consisted in

¹⁸ Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 26.

¹⁹ Pub. O. C., 16 Mar. 1789, No. 7.

“working on the religious opinions of the people of Hindusthan”. The following extract from his letter explains the scheme:—

“In my present public address you will observe that I have started an idea of working on the religious opinions of the Poona Court and that of Nagpur to promote our views by granting them immunities and indulgences at Benares and Gya. It has in all ages been a grand object of the wisdom of legislators to draw foreign wealth into their dominions and I need not recapitulate the various expedients of spectacles, games, oracles, mysteries and reputed sanctity of various places which have been used so successfully by almost all nations and of which Benares and Mecca are at this instant so strong examples of attraction over the two great sects of the Eastern World. These are complete proofs of the influence in its full force unbroken by any of those circumstances of anarchy or oppression that weaken and destroy it; **an instance of which predicament offers in the present state of Jerusalem** where the avarice and bigotry of the Ruling power hostile to the faith of the pilgrims has almost entirely done away the source of wealth incident to that desire of visiting the Holy City which once roused all Christendom to arms. If then it is an object worthy of attention to draw a concourse of foreigners and of course their wealth into our land, it necessarily becomes an object to add to the attractions of superstition those of safety, ease and freedom from imposition and though I am sure that the genius of no Government in the world is more likely than ours to insure the latter, the great difference of our ideas and the distance of the object may without reflection have rendered us indifferent as to any active favourable interposition, for which, when I surmise that there may be room in the structure of *caravan-series* for the accommodation of the votaries and a regular appointment of officers charged with the management and government of so heterogeneous a multitude. I confess that I do it at a venture, without knowing whether any such things do already exist or not. What I have mentioned as to the provisional grant of immunities to the Court and that of Nagpur is also, I must confess, without any knowledge of the subject, other than that I think it might be so used as to be introduced with very great weight, and even should the idea on the present occasion never operate, I have some notion that a voluntary offer to the different Hindu princes of Hindusthan that a certain number of their passports or ours sent to them, should annually entitle the possessors to a free passage to the two holy places would be attended with the two great and good consequences of highly gratifying those princes and promoting the spirit of pilgrimage, and as I doubt not but that all the courts to whom such privilege might be granted would make a perquisite of it somewhat inferior to the common imposts, it follows that they would be then interested to promote a spirit which it is now evidently their interest to check and divert, however they may be blinded to that interest by prejudice and superstition. But if my idea is worthy of any notice, all immunities or indulgence should of course be reserved exclusively for the Courts on which we mean to make an impression. And if in the course of these negotiations we should be able to secure the money of the pilgrims for the supply of

Bombay by granting them bills at an easy exchange on Benares, surely nothing would remain either for Government or the pilgrim to wish from us after having so liberally contributed to the extension of the Power of the one and the Ease of the other and ' what is a singular felicity in the distribution of benefits '. All to the advancement of our own honour and most essential interests! ”

How far the suggestions of Malet were utilized and acted upon by the Government will be seen from the records of the nineteenth century which do not come within the scope of this paper.

APPENDIX.

(1) List of articles presented by the *Vakil* of the Peshwa and Ministers at Poona to General Sir John Clavering on the 6th August 1777:—

- (a) One horse.
- (b) One Sirpaich.
- (c) Two Shawls.
- (d) One piece of *Kinkhab*.
- (e) Seven pieces of white cloth called *Moondée*.

(2) List of articles presented by the *Vakil* of the Peshwa and Ministers at Poona to Mr. R. Barwell:—

(Same as above.)

**Minutes of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the
Indian Historical Records Commission held in the
Committee Room of the University Buildings,
Nagpur, on the 6th December, 1928.**

PRESENT

1. Mr JADU NATH SARKAR, C.I.E., M.A., Calcutta (in the Chair).
2. Mr R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, M.B.E., M.A., I.E.S., Offg. Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta.
3. Mr G. S. SARDESAI, B.A., Poona.
4. Mr A. V. VENKATARAMA AYYAR, M.A., Curator, Madras Record Office (*ex-officio*).
5. Mr L. P. DUTT, M.R.A.S., Offg. Keeper of Records, Bengal (*ex-officio*).
6. Mr J. B. RAJU, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S., Offg. Deputy Director of Public Instruction, C. P. (co-opted).
7. Rai Bahadur HIRA LAL, Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katni (co-opted).
8. Mr Y. M. KALE, M.L.C., Buldana (co-opted).
9. Mr Y. K. DESHPANDE, M.A., LL.B., YEOTMAL (co-opted).
10. Mr S. M. RAHMAN, M.L.C., Akola (co-opted).
11. Mr ABDUL QADIR SIDDIQI, M.L.A., Burhanpur (co-opted).
12. Rai Bahadur PANDIT SHEO NARAIN, Advocate, Lahore (co-opted).
13. Mr D. G. E. HALL, M.A., F.R.Hist. S., I.E.S., Professor of History, University of Rangoon (co-opted).
14. Mr MESROB J. SETH, M.R.A.S., Calcutta (co-opted).
15. Mr P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A., Madras University (co-opted).
16. Mr M. S. RAMASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., Andhra University (co-opted).
17. Mr K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Dacca University (co-opted).
18. Mr J. C. TALUKDAR, M.A., Agra University (co-opted).
19. Mr S. KHURSHEED ALI, M.A., Hyderabad (co-opted).
20. Mr C. V. JOSHI, M.A., Baroda (co-opted).
21. PANDIT LOCHAN PRASAD PANDEY, Representative of the Feudatory States in the C. P. (co-opted).
22. MONS A. BALASUBRAMANIAM PILLAI, Pondicherry (co-opted).
23. Mr A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A. (Secretary).

Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their tenth meeting.

A conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their tenth meeting was placed on the table (*vide* Appendix A).

The action taken on Resolutions 1, 3, 5, 8, 11 and 13-16 were approved. After considering the other matters dealt with in the conspectus or included in the agenda of the present meeting, the following resolutions were passed by the Commission.

Peshwa's Daftar.

(See Resolution 2 of the Tenth Meeting.)

Resolution 1.—The Commission request the Government of Bombay to expedite the matter.

Examination and cataloguing of the Poona Residency Records.

(See Resolution 3 of the Tenth Meeting.)

The Secretary placed before the meeting a copy of the report, dated the 10th January 1928, by Mr H. G. Franks on the above subject, which had been forwarded to the Government of India by Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona, and member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The following resolution was unanimously passed :—

Resolution 2.—The Commission recommend that the work be continued, in view of the satisfactory progress already made and the valuable new material brought to light.

Treatment of records in the Bombay Secretariat.

(See Resolution 17 of the Tenth Meeting.)

Resolution 3.—The Commission have not received any intimation on points (a) and (f) of the Resolution quoted above, which were communicated to the Government of Bombay,¹ and inquire if there is any objection to addressing the Local Government regarding points (b) to (e) of the Resolution as the information therein asked for is necessary for the future working of the Commission.

Preparation of a Source-Book on Maratha history.

The Secretary placed before the Commission a letter, dated the 21st November 1928, from Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor of History, Sir Parashram

¹ The Government of Bombay have since supplied the information which is incorporated in the Conspectus (Appendix A).

Bhau College, Poona, and a corresponding member of the Commission, explaining his position as regards his inability to complete the Source-Book to which reference was made in a note of Mr H. G. Rawlinson embodied in the proceedings of the tenth session of the Commission.

As the Commission should not be the medium for raising a controversy on the subject, it was decided that the letter be simply placed on record (*vide* Appendix B).

Continuation of the publication "The English Factories in India."

(See Resolution 7 of the Tenth Meeting.)

Resolution 4.—In view of the present financial difficulties, the Commission agree with the proposal of the Government of India to postpone the work for 5 years, but express the hope that as soon as the financial position permits, the publication of the series may be resumed.

Transfer of the Company Records in the Imperial Record Department from Calcutta to New Delhi.

(See Resolution 10 of the Tenth Meeting.)

The letter from the Department of Education, Health and Lands, No. 1226-General, dated the 17th September 1928, was placed before the meeting. After careful consideration, the following resolutions were passed concerning the questions on which the Government of India desired to know the views of the Commission:—

Resolution 5 (i).—The quantity of papers shown as "unclassified" in the Report of the Records Sub-Committee, dated the 12th November 1927 (p. 156 of Volume X of Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission), was determined on an average calculation of the capacity of a bundle of records, but from the experience since gained in the matter, it appears to the Commission that the actual number of documents which remain to be classified will be somewhat less than was originally assumed. The Commission therefore think that with the staff at present detailed for the classification of the Company records in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta, the work should be completed in about seven years' time.

Resolution 5 (ii).—As regards the transfer of the classified and repaired records from Calcutta to New Delhi by instalments, the Commission are of opinion that effect should be given to this decision three years hence when sufficient progress has been made in flattening and repairing the records and those papers which do not bear dates and numbers or correct indications about their locations and which are occasionally coming to light during the process of classification will also have been examined and arranged. The Commission recommend that the records should then be sent to New Delhi in batches every year, necessary precautions being taken to prevent damages in transit.

Free interchange of all Record Room publications.

(See Resolution 12 of the Tenth Meeting.)

The representatives of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and the Baroda Darbar having expressed their desire to participate in this scheme, the Commission made the following recommendation :—

Resolution 6.—H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and the Baroda State be included in the scheme of the free interchange of Record Room publications in India.

Collection of facsimiles of historical documents in the possession of private families in the Central Provinces.

(See Resolution 15 (*ii*) of the Tenth Meeting.)

As a result of some discussion on the matter the following resolution was passed :

Resolution 7.—The Commission recommend to the Government of the Central Provinces that a wholetime officer in charge of their records be appointed and that steps be taken to set up machinery for the collection of facsimiles of all documents of historical value in the possession of private families in the Central Provinces, by means of a Photostat or some other method of permanent reproduction. All such facsimiles may be kept under the care of the officer in charge of the records and made available for the use of research scholars.

Grant of access to the records of the Central Provinces to the public for purposes of historical research.

Considerable interest was attached to this matter by the members and after a full discussion the following resolutions were passed :—

Resolution 8.—The Commission recommend to the Government of the Central Provinces that the Indexes to their records be made accessible to the public by showing or by lending them to research scholars on proper deposit, as it facilitates historical enquiries by enabling scholars to locate the exact documents which they want to consult and indicate the line for searching them by enquiries in the Record Office itself.

Resolution 9.—The Commission recommend that the Rules regulating the access of the public to the records in the Central Provinces Secretariat Record Room be printed and published in the provincial gazette and made available for distribution to historical societies and universities.

Resolution 10.—The Commission recommend to the Government of the Central Provinces the desirability of resuming the publication of the old historical documents in its possession when the provincial finances permit, as the records dealing with historical information could usefully be made available to scholars.

List of Inscriptions on Christian Burial Grounds.

(See Section V of the Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting.)

The Secretary placed before the Commission a copy of the *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs in Bihar and Orissa* together with the following notes, dated the 4th and 24th October 1928 respectively, by Sir Evan Cotton on the above publication.

Note on the List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs in Bihar and Orissa.

I have received from the Keeper of the Imperial Records a copy of the letter D. O. No. 551/V E—42 R. R. of the 2nd July 1928 addressed to him as Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission by Mr. R. E. Russell, I.C.S., on behalf of the Government of Bihar and Orissa, with regard to certain criticisms offered by me on the subject of the above publication.

2. These criticisms have been repeated in greater detail on pp. 176-177 of Serial No. 70 of *Bengal: Past and Present* (April—June 1928: Vol. 35, Part II). I have very little to add to them: but as the matter is to be placed before the Commission at its next meeting at Nagpur on December 5 and 6, I append the following comments, which should be considered along with the review in *Bengal: Past and Present*.

3. The publication bears no imprint. There is no introductory word: and nothing to indicate the circumstances in which the *List* was prepared. I regard this as a serious omission.

4. Mr Russell observes (paragraph 1) that "the Local Government were not aware that any research beyond the actual transcription of inscriptions was required." Apart from the fact that most useful notes are given in certain cases (*e.g.*, Purnea and Sambalpur), the value of the transcriptions is frequently destroyed by careless copying or by the withholding of the full inscription. (Several instances are quoted in the review.)

5. It is stated by Mr Russell that "the omission of the inscriptions on tombs of Patna is due to the fact that the number is so large that the preparation of the list is not yet completed". No hint of this is given in the publication itself. Reference should have been made in this connection to the List of pre-Mutiny tombs which was contributed by Mr Horne to Vol. 28 of *Bengal: Past and Present*, (pp. 54-68). On that occasion both Mr Horne and myself provided full notes. A list of inscriptions in Bihar and Orissa which omits those at Patna and offers no explanation for the omission, can only be described as a truncated publication.

6. I do not know if the spelling "*Eylas* Valentine Irwin" and "*John* Peltry Ward", which occur in my copy of Mr Russell's letter (paragraph 4) are to be found in the original. It may be as well to mention therefore that Eyles (not Eylas) Irwin died at Muzaffarpur on December 5, 1846: and that

the tomb at Monghyr which has been attributed to John Petty (not Peltry) Ward and his wife, is in reality the tomb of one of their children.

7. As regards Major H. B. Impey (grave at Sambalpur), particulars of his descent from Sir Elifah Impey are given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Volume 35 (p. 177).

8. I cannot but regret that such a publication was ever issued. Although the Government of Bihar and Orissa had to "depend entirely upon voluntary labour", I feel sure that there would have been no difficulty in securing the assistance as Editor of Mr J. F. W. James, I.C.S., or Mr E. A. Horne or Dr Ridsdale or Prof. J. N. Samaddar who would gladly have given their services. Had the different contributions been submitted to them, some of the more glaring mistakes would not have been allowed to stand.

London, October 4, 1928.

EVAN COTTON.

List of Old Inscriptions in Christian Burial Grounds in the Province of Bihar and Orissa (Rupees five).

(*Bengal: Past and Present*, April—June 1928, pp. 176-77.)

This publication bears no imprint and discloses no editor's name. It has reached us from the Imperial Record Department: but we decline to believe that that office can be in any way responsible for it. Although the need for a list of monumental inscriptions in Bihar and Orissa has long been felt, this slipshod production will assuredly not fill the gap. There is no index: no effort has been made to secure consecutive pagination: biographical notes of historic personalities are conspicuous by their absence: and the most absurd and irrational variations in type are permitted. It is evident that the reports from each division have been separately printed as received and bound together without further examination.

Such casual methods might be forgiven, if the contents were in any sense complete, which they certainly are not. For example, there is no mention of the tombs in the Patna City cemetery in the opening section which purports to cover the Patna Division. They have, it is true, been printed with full notes in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. 28, pp. 54-58): but no reference is made to this fact, and the list, such as it is, is confined to five cemeteries in the Shahabad district and two in the Gaya district. The Arrah and Gaya inscriptions are printed in large type: the others in small type. Under the heading "Tirhut division", we find seven cemeteries in Champaran on a single page, divided into four columns. The inscriptions in the third of the three cemeteries in Muzaffarpur, (which is described as the second on the title page) are displayed, for some unexplained reason, in block letters. Half a page is given to the three cemeteries in the Darbhanga district. Saran is understood to provide four cemeteries: but the inscriptions are lumped to-

gether; and some are printed in block letters while others are not. The date (December 5, 1846) is omitted of the death of Eyles (mis-spelled Eyeles) Valentine Irwin, Collector of Tirhut, who is buried in the Daudpur cemetery at Muzaffarpur. We are not informed whether it has or has not disappeared: but in any case, it can be and should have been supplied from other sources which are readily available. Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea and five inscriptions from the Rajmahal cemetery make up the Bhagalpur division. On page 23, we are asked to believe that a tomb in the Monghyr old cemetery bears the following remarkable inscription: "S. t. m. o. (which, being interpreted means, sacred to the memory of) John Petty Ward, Esq., of the Hon'ble Co.'s Civil Service and his wife, died 20th June, 1826". Mr Ward who was the father of Sir William Erskine Ward, Chief Commissioner of Assam, retired from the Service in 1837 and died in 1869; while Mrs Ward died in 1862. In other cases the full inscription is withheld: as a reference to the *Bengal Obituary* will show.

The Purnea list comes as a welcome relief: for trouble has been taken to examine the early English correspondence in the Collectorate (and also *Bengal: Past and Present*) and not only are a number of names added which have disappeared from the tombs, but suitable notes are appended. Under Chota Nagpur, a full page facsimile is given, we know not why, of the inscription on the tomb of David Chalmers (April 1, 1846). It is the solitary contribution from the Singbhum cemetery: are there no other European graves at Chaibasa? The Cuttack inscriptions have, happily, been revised by the chaplain, Dr Ridsdale, and can therefore lay claim to some degree of accuracy: but they have been set up in very small type. Puri, on the other hand, is favoured with a larger fount: whereby misprints such as "the Rev. Cacland" are pushed into undue prominence. In the case of Sambalpur, a letter from the Deputy Commissioner, which is without date, is printed in full. It contains some notes on the tombs which evince both interest and historical knowledge: and the list is presented in a rational fashion which might well have served as a model for the remainder. Among those buried here is a grandson of Sir Elijah Impey, Major Hastings Broughton Impey, of the Bengal Staff Corps, who was the third son of Edward Impey (1785-1858) of the Bengal Civil Service, and Julie de L'Etang. He was the first Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur and died on December 14, 1863: his wife, who is buried beside him, died three days before him.

The Balasore inscriptions, which bring the Orissa division to an end, are mostly printed in block letters, but the distinction is conferred haphazard and is denied to the oldest which dates back to 1684. The fourth tomb in the list is stated to bear "no inscriptions". It adjoins the third, which is that of the wife of E. E. Repton, C. S. (strangely transcribed as Raep-ton), who died on October 30, 1836: it is probably the grave of their infant son, Henry Baber Hewitt Repton, who died on January 26, 1836. This fact could have been ascertained from the *Bengal Obituary*: but no attempt seems to have been made to consult this or any other work of reference. It is to be

observed also that the year of the death of Major W. S. Parr of H. M. 22nd Regiment, who is buried in this cemetery, is given as "103". Of what value is such an entry?

If the Government of Bihar and Orissa have had any hand in this compilation, they will be well advised to withdraw it and to entrust the preparation of a reliable list to some competent person, who will, if necessary, visit the cemeteries himself.

Note on D/O No. 8265-VIE 41 of the 13th September, 1928, from Mr. R. C. Gupta (Government of Bihar and Orissa, Revenue Department), Patna, to the Secretary to the Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta.

Subject: Inscription on a Tomb in Monghyr Old Cemetery.

I need hardly say that I accept the Chaplain of Jamalpur's statement (in his letter of August 2, 1928) that according to the list of interments, this inscription runs:

Ward. S. T. M. O. John Petty Ward Esq., of the Hon'ble Co.'s Civil Service and his wife died 20 June 1826.

But there can be no doubt that the entry is incorrect and that some such words as "Infant child of" have been omitted after the letters S. T. M. O.

According to Memorials of Old Haileybury College (London 1894, p. 333) John Petty Ward was at Haileybury from 1807 to 1809, and served in Bengal from 1810 to 1836; retired on annuity in 1837 and died on March 23, 1869. Confirmation of this date of his death can be obtained from Burke's Peerage (S. V. Bangor, Viscount) from which it can also be ascertained that his wife died in 1862.

Mr J. P. Ward was the father of Sir William Erskine Ward, K.C.S.I., who officiated as Chief Commissioner of Assam at various dates from 1883 until 1891 when he was confirmed and retired in 1896. Sir William's daughter Mrs B. C. Allen is residing at Salcombe, Chislehurst, Kent.

I trust that the positive evidence now furnished will result in the correction of the entry.

London, October 24, 1928.

EVAN COTTON.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 11.—The Commission recommend that a copy of Sir Evan Cotton's notes be forwarded to the Government of Bihar and Orissa with the request that necessary corrections may be made in the book.

The following further resolutions were passed :—

Resolution 12.—The Commission are of opinion that, instead of publishing selected inscriptions as recommended in Resolution 4 passed at their Rangoon session, the Government of Bombay be requested to have all inscriptions prior to 1860 copied and published and circulated to historical societies.

Resolution 13.—The Commission will be glad to see the list which, it is understood, has been published by the Government of the Punjab.

Introduction of Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaner in the Bengal Record Office.

Resolution 14.—The Commission are concerned to learn that the records of the Government of Bengal are rapidly deteriorating from the ravages of dust and beg to draw the attention of the Local Government to the need of acquiring a Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaner for the Record Room as early as possible.

Deputation of the Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission to Indian States.

(See Resolution 3 of the Sixth Meeting.)

Some of the Indian States had sought for expert advice of the Indian Historical Records Commission with regard to the treatment of their records; but for various reasons the visits of the representatives of the Commission to these States had either to be postponed or abandoned. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the following resolution was passed :—

Resolution 15.—The Commission do not intend to move in the matter, but they will be prepared to consider the case of any particular State which may desire to have their Record Rooms inspected by members of the Commission or seek the advice of the Commission on matters relating to the treatment of the official records of the State.

Appointment of a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Pondicherry.

Resolution 16.—The Commission recommend that Mons. A. Balasubramaniam Pillai, a member of the Historical Society of French India, and who is the representative of the French Government in India at this session of the Commission, be appointed a corresponding member for Pondicherry in place of Mons. A. Singaravelou Pillai, deceased.

Date and Place of the next meeting.

Resolution 17.—The Secretary is authorised to fix the date and place of the next meeting in consultation with the permanent members of the Commission.

The following papers were laid on the table for the information of the Commission :

- (i) Demi-official letter no 842-Gen., dated the 28th June 1928, from the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, to the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, explaining the constitutional relation which subsists between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments with regard to the maintenance of provincial records.
- (ii) Annual Reports of the Record Offices.
- (iii) Progress Report of the Classification of the Company records in the Imperial Record Department.
- (iv) Revised Rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the Government of India. (Appendix C)
- (v) Rules relating to private access to the records in the Bombay Record Office. (Appendix D)
- (vi) Revised Rules and Regulations governing the public use and inspection of the records and archives belonging to the Government of Bengal. (Appendix E)
- (vii) Rules regulating public access, for purpose of research, to the Record Office of the Government of the Central Provinces. (Appendix F)
- (viii) Reports from the undermentioned corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the research work done by them during the year :—
 1. Mr C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A., Madras.
 2. Rev. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A., Bombay.
 3. Mr D. V. POTDAR, B.A., Poona.
 4. Dr BALKRISHNA, M.A., Ph.D., Kolhapur.
 5. Mr S. K. BHUYAN, M.A., B.L., Gauhati.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Tenth Meeting.

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<i>Resolution 1.</i> —The Commission re-affirms its opinion of last year regarding the historical value of the Parasnis collection of pictures and urges that negotiations be re-opened for purchasing them with the object of retaining them intact in India. It also urges that the Parasnis collection of documents and books now in the possession of the Government of Bombay be thrown open to research scholars without further delay.	Communicated to the Government of Bombay.		
<i>Resolution 2.</i> —The Commission re-affirms last year's resolution regarding the Peshwa's Daftar and urges upon the Government of Bombay the necessity of making provision in their next budget to enable the work of preliminary inspection to be carried out immediately.	Ditto.		
<i>Resolution 3.</i> —The Commission expresses its pleasure on learning that the Government of Bombay has assisted Mr H. G. Franks in transcribing and cataloguing the Poona Residency Records, and requests that the assistance should be continued until the work is completed.	Ditto.		
<i>Resolution 4.</i> —The Commission again calls the attention of the Government of Bombay to the necessity of publishing as soon as possible the selected inscriptions from the European grave yards in Western India.	Ditto.		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<p><i>Resolution 5.</i>—The Commission desires very strongly to learn what the Government of the United Provinces is doing with reference to the recommendation made at the last session for setting up of machinery for the collection of facsimiles of documents in the possession of private families in the Province of Oudh and for obtaining whatever public records are available to replace the official records which have apparently been destroyed dealing with Lucknow and its history.</p>	<p>Communicated to the Government of the United Provinces.</p>	<p>Owing to lack of funds, the Local Government has so far been unable to take any action in the matter.</p>	
<p><i>Resolution 6.</i>—The Commission wishes to draw the attention of the Government of Burma to the recommendation made to the Local Government regarding the advisability of having a Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaner for preserving documents from the ravages of dust.</p>	<p>Communicated to the Government of Burma.</p>		
<p><i>Resolution 7.</i>—The Commission strongly urges the continuation of the publication of the "English Factory Series" on the lines proposed and initiated by Sir William Foster; but considers that the work could be carried out in a more economical manner than that suggested in the proposed scheme if roughly seven years instead of four were included in each volume and the work carried out on a slightly less elaborate and extensive scale, in which case the series would be brought down to 1708 in five or six volumes only for each Presidency, amounting to about fifteen or eighteen volumes in all. The work would then be completed in about twelve years at a cost of, say, £300 a year to each Presidency. The Commission hopes that this may be met in whole by the Central Government if the Local Governments concerned are unable to contribute</p>	<p>The matter is under consideration.</p>		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<p>the expenditure. The Commission also begs to point out the supreme importance of this work for students not only of the history of British India but also of the history of the Marathas, Sikhs and other Hindu States and the history of the Mughal Empire.</p> <p><i>Resolution 8.</i>—The Commission feels that it is unable to reply to the enquiry about India's representation at the International Historical Congress at Oslo in 1928 and to make any recommendation until it is informed by the Government of India whether the expenses of the delegate will be paid by them.</p> <p><i>Resolution 9.</i>—The Commission recommends that the paper should be destroyed and that the Secretary should place similar useless documents before the future meetings of the Commission.</p> <p><i>Resolution 10.</i>—The Commission fully endorses the carefully considered views expressed by the Records Sub-Committee and strongly urges upon the Government of India the necessity of accepting the Sub-Committee's recommendation that the records of the Company period should not be moved to Delhi before they are classified, flattened and cased, and the damaged ones repaired in Calcutta, as in the opinion of the Commission, their premature removal would be attended with the gravest danger to the valuable historical documents in their present hazardous condition. The Commission further expressed the hope that the Government of India would give it an opportunity to examine the repaired documents before their transfer to Delhi.</p>	<p>The idea of sending representatives from India to the Historical Congress at Oslo was abandoned.</p> <p>....</p> <p>The recommendations of the Commission have been accepted. The Government of India have no objection to the Commission examining the repaired documents before their transfer to New Delhi provided that no avoidable delay is allowed to occur in examining them. The opinion of the Commission has been asked for on some other points in connection with the transfer of the Company records from Calcutta to New Delhi. The matter will be placed before the next meeting.</p>	<p>....</p>	<p>The instructions have been noted.</p>

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<p><i>Resolution 11.</i>—(i) The Commission desires to draw the attention of the Government of Burma to the suggestions made in Mr Furnivall's paper read before the Commission and recommends that they should be carried out with special reference to the following :—</p> <p>(a) To give effect to Professor Dodwell's recommendations, particularly those relating to the centralisation at Rangoon of all records not required for administrative use.</p> <p>(b) That in giving effect to Prof. Dodwell's recommendation of the appointment of a Record Keeper, special attention be paid to his recommendation that the Curator should deal also with vernacular manuscripts.</p> <p>(c) That the Record Room Rules be revised along the lines suggested in Mr Furnivall's paper with a view to ensuring that due provision be made for considering them in their historical aspect.</p> <p>(d) That steps be taken to collect and publish local and indigenous records.</p> <p>(e) That the University of Rangoon should be invited to co-operate in respect of vernacular records with particular reference to those at present in its charge.</p> <p>(f) That the desirability of placing the Historical Record Room on the new University sites deserves examination.</p> <p>Further, (ii) (a) The Commission considers that the feasibility of the historical manuscripts in the Bernard Free Library being placed fully at the disposal of the Historical Record Room should be examined.</p> <p>(b) That an officer of the University should be appointed Curator of the Records in addition to his own duties for which he should be granted adequate extra allowance.</p>	<p>Communicated to the Government of Burma.</p>		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
(c) That in the <i>interim</i> the Commission wishes to draw the attention of the Government of Burma to the very serious state of their old records and recommends that temporary measures to preserve them, pending permanent arrangements, should be made without delay, otherwise the Commission fears that irreparable damage will be done before the records are permanently housed.			
<i>Resolution 12.</i> —The Commission recommends that there should be a free exchange between the various Provincial Governments and the Central Government of all Record Room publications, including those of the Imperial Record Department.	Free interchange of publications between the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Burma, the Central Provinces, Assam, the Chief Commissioner of Coorg and the Imperial Record Department has been approved.	Accepted by all Local Governments.	
<i>Resolution 13.</i> —The Commission recommends that the claims of Burma to permanent representation on the Historical Records Commission be sympathetically considered when the next vacancy occurs.	This will be considered when the next vacancy occurs.
<i>Resolution 14</i> —That Mr Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences, Nova Goa, Portuguese India, and Mr H. G. Franks, Journalist, Poona, be recommended to the Government of India for appointment as corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.	Approved.		
<i>Resolution 15.</i> —(i) The Commission recommends that Mr H. L. O. Garrett's note on the practical utilisation of historical records be circulated to all Universities in India.	(i) Circulated to the Universities in India through the Inter-University Board.		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<p>(ii) The Commission further recommends that his note on the reproduction of Old Family Documents in the Punjab be circulated to all Provincial Governments for consideration and necessary action.</p>	<p>(ii) Communicated to the Provincial Governments.</p>		
<p>Resolution 16.—The Commission heartily endorses the proposal mentioned by H. E. the Governor of Burma in his inaugural speech and now being considered by the University authorities of Rangoon to take steps to publish photographic plates of all original inscriptions of Burma, and requests the Government of Burma to render all possible assistance in furthering this scheme.</p>	<p>Communicated to the Government of Burma.</p>		
<p>Resolution 17.—The Government of Bombay be requested to supply information on the following points:—</p> <p>(a) To what extent have records in the Bombay Secretariat been calendared and press-listed?</p> <p>(b) Whether the work of calendaring or press-listing will be proceeded with in the near future?</p> <p>(c) Whether the publication of further selections from the Bombay records is to be undertaken?</p> <p>(d) Whether the Government contemplate the appointment of a wholetime Curator of the Records?</p> <p>(e) What steps will be taken for sorting and publishing press-lists of papers collected from local Kacheris?</p> <p>(f) What rules are in force in the Bombay Presidency regarding destruction of records?</p>	<p>The Government of Bombay have been requested to supply information on the points (a) and (f).</p>	<p>(a) No records of the Secretariat have been calendared but they have been press-listed from 1646 to 1760. This work has, however, been discontinued in accordance with the Government of India Resolution No. 77-Gen., dated the 21st March 1919.</p> <p>(f) Two sets of rules are in force.</p>	<p>This information and copies of the rules were received by the Secretary on the 7th January 1920 and were circulated among the permanent members of the Commission.</p>
<p>Resolution 18.—That the Secretary be authorised to fix the place of the next meeting in consultation with the permanent members of the Commission.</p>	<p>With the approval of the Government of India the place of the next meeting was fixed at Nagpur.</p>		

APPENDIX B.

Copy of a letter, dated the 21st November 1928, from Mr Datto Vaman Potdar, Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, to the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission.

I got the copy of the proceedings of our Commission's sittings at Rangoon just yesterday. I found therein on page 152 a note by Principal H. G. Rawlinson wherein he alludes to the Source Book on Marathi History and also refers to me. I wish to point out that Mr Rawlinson's statement is incomplete and hence misleading. I wish to state clearly that my 'inability' referred to therein related only to the doing of the work before March 1927. Mr Rawlinson therefore asked me to send back the papers (which I did). It is now *eighteen months* since that and the *Source Book* is not yet out.

Obviously it was Mr Rawlinson's duty to consult the Source Book Committee before entrusting the work to any other gentleman or taking any other step or giving any explanation in that matter solely on his own responsibility. This Mr Rawlinson refused to do even after I wrote to him to that effect and managed things as he thought proper. If we could have waited for such long period—as eighteen months—I think I would have easily finished my part of the work before now. I never said that I would not be able to do the work if the time could be extended. But Mr Rawlinson left me no choice in the matter.

I hope this explanation will clear up my position and I have to request the Commission to put that on record, in fairness to me.

APPENDIX C.

Rules regulating the access of the public to the Records of the Government of India.

NOTE.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bonâ fide* historical research.

1. The Record Office is open daily except on Sundays and other holidays a list of which shall be put up in the Visitors Room.

2. The hours of admission shall be from 10-30 a.m. to 4-30 p.m. on all days except Saturdays and from 10-30 a.m. to 2 p.m. on Saturdays.

3. Persons desiring to examine the records of the Government of India shall apply in writing to the Keeper of the Records (3, Government Place West, Calcutta), stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications and the object for which they wish to examine them.

4. All applications shall be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records in accordance with the rules drawn up from time to time by the Departments to which the records belong. In the case of records belonging to the Army, Finance, Foreign and Political and Legislative Departments, the Keeper is required to make a reference to those Departments.

5. Government reserve to themselves the right to refuse any application or to accept it with such modifications as they consider necessary.

6. Permission to inspect the records shall remain valid only for two months from the date on which it is granted. If the permission is not availed of or if the inspection of records is not completed within this period, a further application shall be necessary for permission to inspect or continue to inspect the records as the case may be. All applications made under this rule shall be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records unless he thinks it necessary to refer any particular case to the Department concerned.

7. Records may be inspected only within the Record Office and in the presence of a member of the supervisory staff. In any particular case the Keeper of the Records may impose such further conditions as he deems necessary to ensure the preservation and proper treatment of records.

8. Copies or extracts from the records shall not be taken out of the office building, nor shall any use be made of the information gained from the records without the permission of the Keeper of the Records, who may, if necessary, refer the matter to the Departments concerned.

9. Persons not desiring or unable to examine the records themselves may apply for a search to be made at their cost to the Keeper of the Records, who may, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken either by the Assistants of the Imperial Record Department or by some other reliable person.

10. Typed copies of documents may be obtained from the Record Office with the sanction of the Keeper of the Records on payment at the rate of one anna for every 50 words.

11. No volume or paper shall be delivered to any person using the Record Office until he has signed a receipt for the same. Records shall be given back to the Assistant-in-Charge as soon as they are no longer required and the receipt shall then be returned.

12. No person may have more than five 'original consultations' or two volumes out at one time. Documents in a fragile condition shall be handed over singly or subject to such conditions as the Keeper of the Records may deem necessary for their safety.

13. Large folio volumes shall be placed on book-rests and handled as little as possible.

14. No person shall lean on any of the documents, or put one document on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

15. No mark of any description shall be made on any record.

16. With a view to prevent ink being spilt on records the use of an ink-stand shall not be allowed. If the volumes or documents can be placed on book-rests a fountain pen may be used for the purpose of taking notes or extracts; in all other cases notes or extracts shall be taken in pencil.

17. Tracings of signatures and drawings may be made only with the permission of the Keeper of the Records and subject to such conditions as he may impose. Permission shall not be given if it appears to the Keeper of the Records that the process of tracing is likely to damage the document.

18. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records shall deposit in the Record Department one copy of each of the works immediately after publication.

19. No person may chew *pan* or other like substance while working in the Record Office, nor may he place any articles of food on tables meant to be used for keeping records, documents or other papers.

20. Smoking is strictly prohibited in the Record rooms.

APPENDIX D.

**Rules affecting private access to the Records in the Bombay
Record Office, Hope Street, Fort, Bombay.**

NOTE.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bond fide* historical research.

1. The Record Office is open daily excepting Sundays and holidays. The hours of admission are 11 a.m. to 5 p.m.; on Saturdays, 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.
2. Persons wishing to examine the records should apply in writing to the Chief Secretary to Government, stating their occupation, address, and qualifications and the object with which they wish to examine the records.
3. Government reserves to itself the right to refuse or to modify any application.
4. Inspection is allowed only in the Record Office itself.
5. Permission must be obtained to take copies and extracts and to make use of information gained from the records.
6. It is a condition of the grant of permission to examine the records that any person who publishes a work based on those records shall deposit one copy of his work in the Record Office as soon as it is published. Every person is required to sign an undertaking to that effect before being admitted to examine the records.
7. Persons not wishing or being unable themselves to examine the records should apply to the Under Secretary to Government, Separate Department, who will, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken at the cost of the applicant.
8. A separate slip shall be clearly written and signed by every person for each paper or volume he requires before any record can be produced. The slip is returned to him when he again hands over the record.
9. No person may, without the Chief Secretary's permission, have more than 2 volumes of the records in his possession at one time.
10. No person may lean on any of the volumes, or put one on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.
11. No sort of mark, pen, pencil, or otherwise, may be made on any record. Tracing is not permitted.
12. Information as to cost of copies and searches is contained in the set of rules below.

Rules for inspection, search or obtaining copies of documents from the Records of the Secretariat.

(Bombay Government, Revenue Department, Notification No. 2023, dated the 14th March 1889, and General Department Notification No. 4138, dated the 9th August 1909.)

1. Every application for search, inspection and obtaining copies of or extracts from the Government Records shall be made in writing on plain paper. The date of receipt shall be endorsed upon the application as also shall be the number and date of the order of the Secretary granting the same and the dates on which the requisition was satisfied, and the amount of the fee received shall be duly recorded. The name of the person who conducted the search shall also be recorded in full.

2. Copies shall be given in accordance with Article 24, Schedule I of Act II of 1899, and Articles 6-9, Schedule I of Act VII of 1870.

3. A fee of Rs 5 for each day will be charged in every case for search and inspection when permitted by Government. In no case will less than Rs 5 be charged for search or inspection. The search will be conducted by clerks in the Department of the Secretariat concerned.

4. Each applicant will be required to pay a deposit of Rs 20 before search and inspection of records are allowed.

5. For every copy of a document taken from the records a fee of one rupee will be charged as a comparing fee.

6. Copying fees at the rate of two annas for every 100 words or fraction of 100 words will be charged, but if the original is in a tabular form, double this rate will be charged.

7. No search, inspection or copies of documents will be given in cases where it is considered that such a course would be prejudicial to the interests of Government. In no case will copies of Government Resolutions be given.

*Article 24 of Schedule I of Act II of 1899 (The Indian Stamp Act).
(See Rule 2 above.)*

Description of instrument.	Proper stamp duty.
Copy or extract certified to be a true copy or extract by or by order of any public officer and not chargeable under the law for the time being in force relating to court fees—	
(i) if the original was not chargeable with duty or if the duty with which it was chargeable does not exceed one rupee ;	Eight annas.
(ii) in any other case	One rupee.
<i>Exceptions.</i>	
(a) Copy of any paper which a public officer is expressly required by law to make or furnish for record in any public office or for any public purpose.	
(b) Copy of, or extract from, any register relating to births, baptisms, namings, dedications, marriages, divorces, deaths or burials.	

*Extract from Schedule I of Act VII of 1870 (The Court Fees Act).
(See Rule 2 above.)*

(*Ad valorem* fees.)

Number.	—	Proper fee.
	When such judgment or order is passed by any Civil Court other than a High Court, or by the presiding officer of any Revenue Court or Office, or by any other Judicial or Executive Authority—	
6. Copy or translation of a judgment or order not being or having the force of, a decree.	(a) If the amount or value of the subject matter is fifty or less than fifty rupees.	Four annas.
	(b) If such amount or value exceeds fifty rupees.	Eight annas.
	When such judgment or order is passed by a High Court.	One rupee.
	When such decree or order is made by any Civil Court other than a High Court, or by any Revenue Court—	
7. Copy of a decree or order having the force of a decree.	(a) If the amount or value of the subject-matter of the suit wherein such decree or order is made is fifty or less than fifty rupees.	Eight annas.
	(b) If such amount or value exceeds fifty rupees.	One rupee.
	When such decree or order is made by a High Court.	Four rupees.
8. Copy of any document liable to stamp duty under the Indian Stamp Act, 1879,* when left by any party to a suit or proceeding in place of the original withdrawn.	(a) When the stamp duty chargeable on the original does not exceed eight annas.	The amount of the duty chargeable on the original.
	(b) In any other case.	Eight annas.
9. Copy of any revenue or judicial proceeding or order not otherwise provided for by this Act, or copy of any account, statement, report or the like, taken out of any Civil or Criminal or Revenue Court or Office, or from the Office of any Chief officer charged with the executive administration of a Division.	For every three hundred and sixty words or fraction of three hundred and sixty words.	Eight annas.

* See now the Indian Stamp Act, 1899 (II of 1899).

Extract from Section 6 of Act VII of 1870.

“No document of any of the kinds specified as chargeable in the first or second schedule to this Act annexed shall be furnished by any public officer, unless in respect of such document there shall be paid a fee of an amount not less than that indicated by either of the said schedules as the proper fee for such document.”

APPENDIX E.

Rules and Regulations governing the public use and inspection of the Records and Archives belonging to the Government of Bengal.

[These cancel rules 54-56 of the Rules for the Management of the Bengal Secretariat Record Room.]

1. The public have no right to see or have copies of records in the possession of Government, who reserve to themselves the right to refuse or modify any application.

2. The inspection or examination of such documents as Government may permit to students and others shall be subject to the following conditions and regulations.

3. The inspection and examination shall be carried out in the Search Room set apart for the purpose at specified hours.

4. The hours of attendance and admission shall be from 11 a.m. till 4-30 p.m., except on Saturdays, when they shall be from 11 a.m. till 1-30 p.m.

5. The Search Room shall be open only to authorised persons every day, except Sundays and such days as are declared to be Government holidays.

6. Persons wishing to obtain information from or copies of the records should apply in writing to the Keeper of the Records, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, stating their occupation and the object for which the information or copies are required.

7. Every person wishing to inspect any document shall first obtain a student's ticket by making a written application on the prescribed form to the Keeper of the Records, Government of Bengal, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta. The forms can be obtained from the Keeper of the Records.

8. Each application must be accompanied by a recommendation, on the prescribed form, to be obtained from the Keeper of the Records.

Applicants who are not British subjects must submit a recommendation from their Consul or the Political Agent of the State to which they belong.

9. Each ticket will be issued for a period of six months only. Renewals for six months at a time may be obtained, subject to Government's consent.

10. Government reserve to themselves the entire right to decide whether a document or archive shall be issued for inspection. No reasons will be given in case of refusal, but the final decision for refusal shall rest with the Deputy Secretary to Government in the Political Department.

11. Documents of exceptional value and documents in a fragile condition shall only be produced subject to such conditions as the Keeper of the Records

shall, in the particular case, think requisite for their safety and integrity. No such documents shall be issued for the use of students where certified copies exist. Not more than four documents will be issued at one time to a student.

12. No person shall lean upon any records, documents or books belonging to the Bengal Government's archives, or place upon them the paper on which he or she is writing. The utmost care must be exercised in handling all books and documents.

13. No person shall make any sort of mark, in pencil or otherwise, upon any record, document, or book belonging to the Bengal Government's archives.

14. No ink or indelible pencil shall be used by any person admitted to the Search Room; nor shall any typewriter, portable or otherwise, be permitted in the Search Room.

15. No tracing shall be made of any record or document issued for examination without the written permission of the Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Political Department.

16. Silence, as far as possible, is to be maintained in the Search Room.

No umbrellas, sticks or bags shall be taken into the Search Room. No food shall be eaten in the Search Room; no *pan* is to be chewed there. Spitting and smoking are strictly prohibited, and in no circumstances is it permitted to strike a match in the Search Room.

17. Records and documents, when done with, or at closing time, shall be returned in person by the individual to whom they have been issued to the Officer in charge of the Search Room, together with the slip* issued by the Keeper of Records when the document was handed over for examination.

18. The Officer in charge of the Search Room is empowered to exclude persons from the Search Room for—

- (i) wilful breach of the foregoing rules and regulations;
- (ii) persistent disregard of the officer's authority;
- (iii) damage of any sort to any record or article belonging to the Government of Bengal;
- (iv) language, conduct, habits, dress or anything else offensive, or likely to cause offence, to other occupants of the Search Room:

Provided always that the exclusion of any person shall be notified in writing to the Deputy Secretary, Government of Bengal, Political Department, whose orders shall be final.

19. If a search is to be made by the Record Room staff the applicant is required to deposit a searching fee at the rate of Rs 60 a month or Rs 2 a day, to be deposited in advance with the Cashier of the Secretariat. On the deposit being made, the search will be made by an assistant and the informa-

*Each document required by a student should be issued with a printed tally, half to be retained by the Issuing Officer, half to be given to the student and returned by him with the document after use or at the close of the day.

tion wanted will be furnished to the applicant, if, after inspection of the records and consultation with the Department concerned, it is considered that there is no objection to this being done. Any balance will be refunded by the Accounts Department on the order of the Keeper of the Records.

20. No information and no copies of documents may be given and no person may be permitted to make a copy of any document without reference to the Department concerned.

21. The charge for copies made by the Record Room staff will be at the rate of two annas per 100 words; such copying charges must be paid in advance.

22. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes any article or work based on them shall deposit in the Bengal Secretariat Record Room one copy of each work immediately after publication.

APPENDIX F.

Rules regulating public access, for purposes of research, to the Records of the Government of the Central Provinces.

I

1. The Record Office is open daily (excepting Sundays and certain other festivals and all gazetted holidays), the hours of admission being 10-30 a.m. to 4-30 p.m.

2. Persons wishing to examine the records of the Government of the Central Provinces should apply in writing to the Registrar of the Central Provinces Government Secretariat, stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications and the object with which they wish to examine them.

3. Government reserves to itself the right to refuse or to modify any application.

4. Inspection is allowed only in the Record Office itself.

5. Permission must be obtained to take copies and extracts and to make use of information gained from the records. (Typed copies can be supplied by the Registrar at the rate of one anna for 50 words).

6. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records, is required to deposit one copy of each work as soon as published in the Record Room.

II

7. Persons not wishing or being unable themselves to examine the records should apply to the Registrar who will, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken at the cost of the applicant either by the Assistant Record Keeper or by some other reliable person.

III

8. A separate slip shall be clearly written and signed by every person for each paper or volume he requires before any record can be produced. The slip is returned to him when he again hands over the record.

9. No person may have more than five 'original consultations' or two volumes out at a time.

10. Big folio volumes are to be placed on book rests and handled as little as possible.

11. No person may lean on any of the documents or put one on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

12. No sort of mark, pen, pencil, or otherwise, may be made on any record. Tracing is not permitted.

APPENDIX G.

List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Names.	Centres.
1. Khan Sahib Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra.	Agra.
2. Mr S. T. Sheppard, Editor, The "Times of India," Bombay.	Bombay and Poona.
3. Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona. (<i>Appointed member of the Commission.</i>)	
4. Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Poona. (<i>Appointed member of the Commission.</i>)	
5. Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.	
6. Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor, Sir Parashram Bhau College, Poona.	
7. Sardar G. N. Majumdar, M.L.C., Poona.	Bombay and Poona.
8. Mr H. G. Franks, Journalist, Poona.	
9. Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., M.B.E., Principal, Hooghly College. (<i>Appointed member of the Commission.</i>)	
10. Dr Narendra Nath Iaw, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.	
11. Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., M.A.	
12. Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hidayet Husain, Principal, Calcutta Madrasa.	Calcutta.
13. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University.	
14. Mr Badruddin Ahmad, B.A., Assistant Registrar, Appellate Side, Calcutta High Court.	
15. Mr A. F. Rahman, B.A., (Oxon.).	Dacca.
16. Dr J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Economics, Dacca University.	
17. Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman, Member of the Dacca University Court.	
18. Dr Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.	Kolhapur.
19. Mr H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore. (<i>Appointed member of the Commission.</i>)	

Names.	Centres.
20. Mr A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., Dean of University Instruction, Lahore.	Lahore.
21. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.	
22. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, President, Punjab Historical Society, Lahore.	
23. Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University.	Lucknow.
24. Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S.	Madras.
25. Dr John Mathai, B.L., B.Litt., D.Sc.	
26. Mr M. Ruthnaswami, late President, Madras Legislative Council.	
27. Mr C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., I.C.S.	
28. Mr C. Hayavadana Rao.	
29. Mr C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.	
30. Mr J. F. W. James, M.A., (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, I.C.S.	Patna.
31. Mr Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences, Nova Goa, Portuguese India.	Nova Goa.
32. Mr D. G. E. Hall, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Professor of History and Fellow of the University of Rangoon.	Rangoon and Mandalay.
33. U. Khin Maung, B.A., M.L.A.	
34. U. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.R.A.S., Editor of the Hlutdaw Records, Mandalay.	
35. Mr G. H. Luce, M.A., I.E.S., Lecturer of University College, Rangoon.	
36. U. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S., University of Rangoon.	
37. U. Ba Dun, Bar.-at-Law, Secretary, Burma Legislative Council, Rangoon.	
38. Mr J. S. Furnivall, B.A., I.C.S. (Retd.), Director, Burma Book Club, Rangoon.	Lashio.
39. Mr G. E. Harvey, B.A., I.C.S., Superintendent, Northern Shan States, Lashio.	
40. Mr L. F. Taylor, M.A., F.R.A.I., I.E.S., Head Master, Government High School, Bassein.	Bassein.
41. Mr S. K. Bhuyan, Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam.	Gauhati.

APPENDIX H.

Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, etc., exhibited at Nagpur in connection with the 11th Annual Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

From the Imperial Record Department.

1. Farmans relating to the English trade in India particularly in Bengal and Orissa, 1633-1712. These are grants or orders made by Muhammadan Rulers and Governors and comprise rotographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English translations.
- 2-6. Copies of farmanis from the Mughal Emperor Shah 'Alum, granting the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, the previous *Diwan*, in consequence of the above grant. (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, nos 2-6.)
7. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, the Hon. A. Ross and the Hon. Lt-Col. W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department, there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr Prinsep's minute by the Hon. T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council, Feb-Mar. 1835. (Pub. 7 Mar. 1835, no 19 and Keepwiths.)
8. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (G. G's Pub. 24 Nov. 1839, no 10.)
9. Communication in Latin from the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, dated Vienna, 8 July 1792, to Haidar Ali, *re.* the appointment of Mr W. Bolts, as his consul and Lieut. Imues as Inspector. Bears the signature of the Emperor.
10. Treaty with King Christen VIII of Denmark for transferring the Dutch Settlements in India to the English, dated 22 Feb. 1845.
11. Original letter from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the King of Burma on his accession to the throne of Burma. Bears the original signature of Her Majesty.
12. Letter from Captain W. Richardson submitting a report of his Voyage from London to purchase slaves for Fort Marlbro'. (Pub. 22 Aug. 1765, no 1.)
- 13-15. List of presents made by the Peshwa and the Ministers at Poona to Lieut-Gen. Sir John Clavering and Mr Richard Barwell. (Pub. 11 Aug. 1777, nos 2, 3 and A.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

16. Correspondence with Mr C. W. Malet, Resident at Poona, on the subject of the establishment of a fixed and regular *dāk* between Western India and the Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George. (Pub. 22 Apr. 1789, no A.)
- 17-20. Introduction of postage stamps in supersession of the system of money payments as postage. These papers show what attempts were made at the time to print the stamps in India. (Pub. 18 Mar. 1853, no 1; 1 July 1853, nos 1-3; 12 May 1854, nos 44-5; 19 May 1854, no 64.)
21. Incorporation of the University of Calcutta with adaptations for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. (Pub. 12 Dec. 1856, nos 54-5.)
22. Infanticide and murder among the Brinjarahs. Their manners and customs, etc. (Pub. A. 11 Jan. and 28 Mar. 1868, nos 28-29 and 116-118.)
23. Human sacrifice in certain districts of the Central Provinces. (Pub. A. 30 May 1868, no 141.)
24. Female infanticide in the eastern part of the Sehory pargana in the Jubbulpore district. (Pub. B. 26 Sep. 1868, no 95.)
- 25-26. Act for the prevention of the murder of female infants. Suppression of female infanticide among the Rajputs. (A. 7 May 1870, nos 1-4 and A. 20 Aug. 1870, nos 96-98.)
27. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England *via* Red Sea. (Pol. 11 Sep. 1812, nos 7-9.)
- 28-29. From R. Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur and Sreedhar Pundit, (translations of letters), reporting the death of Raghuji Bhonsla II of Nagpur. (P. C. 5 Apr. 1816, no 33 and P. C. 15 Apr. 1816, no 54.)
30. Letter of condolence from the Governor-General to Pursoji Bhonsla on the death of his father Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla II and of congratulation on his accession to the *masnad*. (P. C. 4 May 1816, no 83.)
31. List of presents sent by the Governor General to Maharaja Pursoji Bhonsla on the death of his father and on his accession to the *masnad* and to Appa Sahib on his appointment to the Regency. (P. C. 25 May 1816, nos 49-52.)
32. Accounts furnished by R. Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, respecting the extent, revenue and army of the State of Nagpur. (P. C. 17 Aug. 1816, no 23.)
33. Proposal made by Appa Sahib to raise a battalion of sepoys after the European manner under British officers and approved by the Governor General. (P. C. 9 Nov. 1816, nos 31-32.)
- 34-35. From R. Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, reporting the death of Maharaja Pursoji Bhonsla and the proposed accession of Appa Sahib to the

From the Imperial Record Department—contd.

- masnad.* (P. C. 22 Feb. 1817, no 100 and P. C. 22 Mar. 1817, nos 35-36.)
36. **Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaris and the Maharrattas, 1811-1821.** (For. Mis. Vol. no 124.)
 37. Sir Richard Jenkin's report regarding the details of the General Rules that have been established and partially introduced into the different departments of the Raja's (Raghuji III) Government. (P. C. 12 Jan. 1827, no 5.)
 38. Major-General Sir John Malcolm's minute on the Revenue and Judicial administration of the Southern Maratha country and the genealogy of the Maratha chiefs, 1829. (For. Dept. Mis. Records, Serial no 204.)
 - 39-40. Revision of the engagement of 1826 between the E. I. Co. and the Maharaja of Nagpur. Payment of an annual subsidy of 8 *lakhs* of rupees agreed to by Raja Raghuji Bhonsla III. (P. C. 15 Jan. 1830, nos 31-34 and P. C. 19 Mar. 1830, no 34.)
 - 41-47. Abolition of the *sati* rite in the dominion of the Raja of Nagpur (P. C. 24 Sep. 1832, no 43; P. C. 14 Jan. 1833, no 45; P. C. 3 Jul. 1837, no 39; P. C. 14 Aug. 1837, nos 52-3; P. C. 25 Sep. 1837, nos 104-6; P. C. 13 Nov. 1839, nos 6-8; and Pol. Des. from Court no 3, dated 30 Jan. 1839, para. 52.)
 - 48-49. Suppression of human sacrifice in some Hill Tracts of Orissa, namely, Kalahandi, Bastar and their dependencies, etc. (F. C. 3 Jan. 1851, nos 114-15 and F. C. 23 Mar. 1855, nos 114-15.)
 50. Donation of Rs. 10,000 by the **Raja of Nagpur towards the National Wellington Testimonial.** (F. C. 1 Apr. 1853, nos 105-6.)
 51. Trade of the Native States in India with the United Kingdom of Great Britain placed on the same footing with certain exceptions as that of the British Possessions in the East Indies. (F. C. 25 Nov. 1853, nos 39-41.)
 52. Report of the death of H. H. Baka Bai, widow of Raghuji Bhonsla II. (F. C. 30 Dec. 1859, nos 603-6.)
 53. Constitution of the Province of Nagpur and the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories into a separate Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces. (For. Dept. Resolution no 9, dated 2 Nov. 1861; Pol. A. Nov. 1861, no 48.)
 54. A genealogical table of the Bhonsla family from which both the Satara and Kolhapur Rajas derived their origin. (Pol. A. May 1871, no 568.)
 55. From Peshwa (Narayan Rao). Says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor General to do the same. (Pers. 12 Dec. 1778, no 138.)

~~From the Imperial Record Department—contd.~~

56. From Madhuji Bhonsla. In view of the impending war with the French, the Governor General sent under Colonel Leslie reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government and requested the Bhonsla to let them pass through his territories. The Bhonsla informed the Governor General that he had taken adequate measures for the safe passage of the Army. (Pers. 10 May 1778, no 32.)
57. From Raghunath Rao. Thanks the Governor General for his sending reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government in his behalf. Bears the writer's signature. (Pers. 16 Dec. 1778, no 144.)
58. From Maharaja Madhuji Bhonsla approving of the deputation of Mr. Hicksman and Bishambhar Pandit at Nagpur in the place of Beniram Pandit in order to represent certain particulars to him. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (Pers. 16 Feb. 1782, no 20.)
59. From Maharaja Madhuji Bhonsla, granting a sanad for the *Zamindari* of Balasore to Beniram Pandit and enjoining him to attend to the welfare of the people and calling upon the *zamindars* and others to help the Pandit in the execution of his duties. Dated 25. Rajab 1190 A. H. 26 June 1783, A. D. (Pers. Jul. 1783, no 80.)
60. From Nana Farnavis, Minister of the Peshwa. Asks the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu. Bears the seal of Nana Farnavis. (Pers. 14 Nov. 1785, no 94.)
61. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Has received the Governor General's letter saying that he has returned to Calcutta after making a tour of all the Company's possessions and reviewing the troops at the different stations and intimating that Major Palmer who has been appointed Resident at the writer's court will shortly proceed there. Bears the writer's seal. (Pers. 8 Feb. 1788, no 101.)
62. From Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla. Saying that the Governor General must have learnt of the sad death of his father, Maharaja Madhuji Bhonsla through papers of news as also by the letter of Mr Forster. (Pers. 16 Jul. 1788, no 413.)
63. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Acknowledging the Governor General's letter in which he writes that he has decided not to go to Madras and that Major Meadows who has been appointed Governor of that place will conduct the war against Tipu. Bears the writer's seal. (Pers. 10 Mar. 1790, no 57.)
64. From His Majesty Shah Alum. Has learnt from the Governor General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (Pers. 8 Mar. 1790, no 50.)

From the Imperial Record Department—contd.

65. From Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla. Requesting that Bishambhar Pandit may be allowed to come to Nagpur for receiving instructions from him on the subject of his negotiations with the English. (Pers. 2 May 1791, no 181.)
66. From Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla. Informing the Governor General that his mother will shortly set out on a pilgrimage to Benares, Gaya and Prayag and requesting him to direct the Talukdars of those places to afford her every facility in the accomplishment of her object. (Pers. 27 Aug. 1791, no 409.)
67. From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his *vakils* to the Governor General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Coy. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan. 1792 A. H. (Pers. 12 Feb. 1792, no 114.)
68. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad. Intimates that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam. (Pers. 10 Feb. 1799, no 19.)
69. From the Peshwa Baji Rao II. Approving of the suggestion made by Colonel Palmer that before declaring war against Tipu who has concluded a secret treaty with the French, it is necessary to enquire from him whether he still adheres to his engagements made at Seringapatam. Bears the seal of the Peshwa. (Pers. 20 Sep. 1798, no 361.)
70. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Expressing his gratitude on being released and restored to the kingdom of his ancestors which had been usurped by the dynasty of Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Maharaja. (Pers. 12 Jul. 1799, no 198.)
71. From Raja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur. Promises not to give protection in his country to Vizir Ali Khan and his associates who had murdered Mr Cherry. Bears the seal of the Raja. (Pers. 1 Jul. 1799, no 174.)
72. A manuscript showing the various styles of Persian calligraphy. Illustrated folios. (19.)
73. A *qasida* (ode) written in praise of the Governor General Lord Canning written in Persian by Shaikh Ahmad Ali, Sarishtadar, Rawalpindi.
74. A *masnavi* (poem) in praise of Queen Victoria, written in Persian by Shaikh Ahmad Ali, Sarishtadar, Rawalpindi, 1858.
75. Tibetan wood-block. It is a block to print on paper or cotton a charm invoking the protection of Jhambala the God of riches. The upper part consists of a gem in the centre being the emblem of the god, and surrounded by Sanskrit mantras in Tibetan script. Under the

From the Imperial Record Department—contd.

charm itself is cut out in Tibetan an explanation of the charm, with directions as to its use.

76. Ticket for admission to the trial of Warren Hastings.

Specimens of the repairing work done in the Imperial Record Department.

- 77-79. Manuscripts illustrating the evil effect of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. (Pub. Con. 7 May 1790, no 6.)

The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and replaced by Chiffon. (Pub. Con. 28 Jan. 1785, no 1 and 6 Apr. 1786, no 58.)

80. A repaired manuscript volume illustrating how the isolated sheets of damaged volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding.
81. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae.

Pictures.

82. Views of Old Calcutta, 1794. (9 Prints.)
83. Peace in India or the Conquest of Seringapatam.

From the Government of Bengal.

84. *Proceedings of the Select Committee, 9 January to 31 December 1766.*

At page 27 of this volume will be found the autographs of Lord Clive, Brig-Genl John Carnac, Henry Verelst and Francis Sykes, Members of the Select Committee, which dealt with all Political and Military matters as well as the collection of revenues arising in consequence of the grant of the *Diwani*.

85. *Committee of Circuit at Rajmahal, Original Consultation, no 1 of 15 February 1773.*

Letter dated 5 February 1773, from the Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council, approving of the settlement of Dinajpur and Salbaris (at present in Bogra District).

The paper contains the autographs of Warren Hastings, General R. Barker and T. Lane.

86. *Calcutta Committee of Revenue, Original Consultation no 1 of 6 December 1773.*

Letter dated 23 November 1773, from the Board of Revenue consisting of the whole Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, stating that the Collectors appointed in Districts for the collection of revenue have been recalled and formulating the

From the Government of Bengal—contd.

constitution of the six Provincial Councils of Revenue for the same purpose for the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar.

The letter explains an important phase in the revenue administration of the country during the Government of Warren Hastings.

Contains the autographs of Warren Hastings, W^l. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Jas. Lawrell and others.

87. *Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council, Original Consultation, no 17 of 11 June 1773.*

Petition of Lokenath Nandi, Gokul Chandra Ghosal, Darpa Narayan Thakur and Kashinath Babu, salt contractors of Hijili (now in the district of Midnapore) to W. Hastings, President, and Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William, representing their grievances in not having the terms of their salt contract complied with.

The signatories to the petition were all well known men in their own day and their families constitute great houses in this generation as well.

88. *Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council, Original Consultation, no 6 of 26 November 1773.*

Letter (in French), dated 1773 from the Chief and Council of the French Settlement at Chandernagore complaining against the conduct of Mr Barwell whose sepoy's apprehended a Jamadar attached to the French Factory.

The signatories to the letter constituted the Chief and Council of the French Factory at Chandernagore.

89. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 1 of 12 September 1775.*

Joint Minute of Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell, a member of the Supreme Council, on the conduct of Mr W. M. Thackeray, Collector of Sylhet, in farming the district in his own account contrary to the standing orders of Government.

Mr Thackeray was the grandfather of the great novelist.

90. *Calcutta Committee of Revenue, Original Consultation no 1 of 20 October 1775.*

Letter dated 16 October 1775, from the Revenue Department of the Governor General of Bengal, to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue enquiring if the French have established within the jurisdiction of the Committee any factories or residencies except in their Settlements at Chandernagore and Balasore.

This letter bears the autographs of the Governor General and his Council, *viz.*, Warren Hastings, Colonel George Monson, Philip Francis, Richard Barwell and Genl. John Clavering.

From the Government of Bengal—contd.

91. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 12 of 21 May 1776.*

Draft of a sanad granting the Zamindari of Burdwan to Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur.

92. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 30 of 4 April 1777.*

Autograph minute of Sir P. Francis on the institution of the office of the *Amini daftar*.

93. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 10 of 30 November 1779.*

Petition of Kissen Kanta Naudi (commonly known as Kanta Babu, the Founder of the Kassim Bazar Raj Family), complaining against Krishnanda Sarkar, a dismissed *Gomasta* (agent) of his with regard to his mercantile affairs.

94. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 26 of 27 October 1780.*

Translation of a letter received on 7 October 1780 from Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, conferring the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Nadia.

Raja Shib Chandra was the son of Maha-Rajendra Krishna Chandra of the Nadia Raj Family. The letter gives an idea as to how *sanads* were granted in Hastings' time. A reference to the Indian title of the Governor General which runs as "Amaudul-Dowlah Governor General Mr Hastings Bahadur Jelladut Jang" will also be found.

95. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 28 of 27 October 1780.*

Draft of a letter dated 27 October 1780, from the Governor General in Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, sanctioning the conferment of the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Krishnagar.

96. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 2 of 20 February 1781.*

Draft of a letter to the Committee of Revenue appointing as *Diwan* to the Committee, Ganga Govinda Singh (the person who figures largely in Burke's Impeachment of Warren Hastings).

97. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 3 of 18 September 1789.*

Holograph minute of Lord Cornwallis reviewing the points raised by Sir John Shore with regard to making permanent settlements in the province of Bengal and Bihar and expressing his opinion in favour of the same being made permanent.

98. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 4 of 18 September 1789.*

Minute of Sir John Shore in reply to the objection of the Governor General to his proposals on the Bihar settlement.

From the Government of Bengal—contd.

99. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 1 of 21 December 1789.*

Minute dated the 8th December 1789 by Sir John Shore, advancing arguments against the revenue settlements of the province of Bengal and Bihar being made 'Final' and 'unalterable'.

100. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 52 of 10 February 1790.*

Minute of Lord Cornwallis, dated 3 February 1790 with appendices replying to the minute of Sir John Shore of 8 December and recording his views as to why the revenue settlement of the province should be made on a permanent basis. (The foregoing minutes are famous.)

101. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 11 of 24 July 1813.*

Minute of the Governor General (Lord Minto) suggesting alterations and revisions to be made in Regulation V of 1809 of the Bengal Code relating to the law of allegiance and desiring that the same changes be introduced in the Bombay Regulation as well. (Bears the autograph of the Earl of Minto.)

102. *Judicial Department, Civil Branch, Original Consultation no 16 of 12 August 1817.*

Autograph minute of the Marquis of Hastings, dated October 1815 on the Judicial administration of the Presidency of Fort William.

103. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 62 of 19 January 1826.*

Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in the Political Department, dated 13 January 1826 containing the proposals of Begam Samru of Sardhana relating to her *Jaidad* and *Jagirs* in the territory possessed by her.

(Begam Samru is a well-known figure in history).

- 104-5. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation nos 18-19 of 29 December 1826.*

Holograph minutes, dated 25 January and 3 May 1826 by Lord Amherst on Slavery in India.

106. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 14 of 6 March 1828.*

Minute dated 13 January 1827 by W. B. Bayley, Member of the Council of the Governor General on the Report relating to cases of *sati* for the year 1825 and suggesting measures for the abolition of the practice.

107. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 16 of 6 March 1828.*

Draft of a Regulation by J. H. Harington, Member of the Council for declaring the inhuman practice of burning or burying alive of

From the Government of Bengal—contd.

the widows of deceased Hindus to be illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts. (Contains the autograph of Mr Harington.)

108. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 17 of 6 March 1828.*

Holograph minute of the Earl of Combermere, Commander-in-Chief, on the abolition of the practice of the *sati* rite.

109. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 19 of 6 March 1828.*

Holograph minute of Lord Amherst, Governor General, dated 18 March 1827, recording his views against immediate steps being taken with regard to the abolition of the practice of *sati*.

110. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 22 of 6 March 1828.*

Statement showing the names and other particulars of the Hindu widows who burnt themselves or were buried alive as *satis* in the year 1826. (This is a formidable list.)

111. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 26 of 6 March 1828.*

Autograph minute of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, dated 29 December on the practice of *sati*.

112. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 27 of 6 March 1828.*

Holograph minute of 4 January 1828 of Lord Amherst, Governor General, declining finally to abolish the rite of *sati* at that period.

113. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 10 of 4 December 1829.*

Autograph minute of Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, dated 8 November 1829, recommending the abolition of the practice of *sati*. (This is a famous minute.)

114. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 1 of 5 January 1830.*

Autograph minute of the Governor General, dated 8 December 1829 by Lord William Bentinck on the subject of allowing Europeans to hold lands on lease in India.

115. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 8 of 9 June 1830.*

Statement of gross and net revenue of the Burmese territory for the year 1828-1829. (They were compiled just after the First Burmese War).

From the Government of Bengal—contd.

116. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 9 of 9 June 1830.*

Particulars of receipts and charges of the Burmese territory for the years 1827-1828 and 1828-1829 with explanations of increase and decrease in each district.

117. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 18 of 14 October 1830.*

Autograph minute, dated 10 October 1829, of Lord William Bentinck on the formation of a Legislative Council for the Presidency of Fort William.

118. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 11 of 29 August 1844.*

Holograph letter of R. Macdonald Stephenson (one of the promulgators of the East Indian Railway Company), dated 5, Wellesley Place, Calcutta, July 15, 1844 submitting to Government of Bengal certain proposals for opening a railway line in Bengal.

119. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 13 of 29 August 1844.*

Draft of a reply to R. M. Stephenson. Stating the objections to the scheme and suggesting how the difficulty could be got over.

120. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 2 of 13 August 1845.*

Correspondence relating to the opening up of Railways in India

121. *Railway Department, Original Consultation no 2 of 3 September 1845.*

Copy of a letter, dated 25 June 1845, from Lieut-Col. Forbes (then Mint Master at Calcutta), to the Military Board, submitting a report on the project of opening a line of canal or railway between some point on the Hooghly near Chinsura and Monghyr.

122. *Select Committee Proceedings, January to July 1770, Vol. I., Pages 28-29, 164-65, 288-91.*

These papers show how Bengal had to deal with the Raja of Nagpur through Orissa once in the early latter half of the 18th Century as regards the *Chauth* for Bengal.

From the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

123. Leckie (D. R.): *Journal of a route to Nagpur* . . . London, 1800.

124. Facsimile of seals of Sivaji.

125. Album of the Governor Generals of India.

126. A letter congratulating the Governor General on the fall of Delhi and the complete suppression of the rebels.

127. Commission dated 2nd July, 1800 to examine witness on the part of Warren Hastings.

From the Imperial Library, Calcutta—contd.

- 128. Panorama of the City of Lahore. (Painted in water colour, 1840.)
- 129. 18 Pictures relating to the Old Army System in the Company's days.

From the Calcutta Madrasa.

- 130. A rare history of Madina called Bahjat-un-Mufus.
- 131. An old commentary on the Hamasa.
- 132. A hitherto unknown commentary on the Usul ush—Shahi.
- 133. Khamasa-i-Nizami.
- 134. Knolles, Richard.—The Turkish History from the origin of that nation to the growth of the Ottoman Empire with the lives and conquests of the Princes and Emperors with a continuation to the present year 1687 by Sir Paul Rygant. 3 Vols. London 1687.
- 135. Photo of Haji Muhammad Mohsin, the great benefactor of the Muslims of Bengal. After a portrait in the India Office.

From the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

- 136. Grammatica Latino, no 2693.
- 137. Sanskrit English Dictionary, Parts I and II, no 2102.
- 138. Wilson's Sanskrita Dictionary, Vol. I (Mss).
- 139. Typescript copies of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society from January 1784 to July 1800.

From the Muslim Institute, Calcutta.

- 140. A painting of Qutb-ul-Mulk Nawab Syed Abdullah Khan, the ' King Maker '.
- 141. A painting of Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh.
- 142. Manuscript copy of Ramayan.
- 143. Manuscript copy of Mahabharat.

From Prince Ghulam Husain Shah (of the Mysore family), Calcutta.

- 144. Photograph of the late Tipu Sultan.
- 145. Paintings of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi.

From Prince Ahmad Halimuz-zaman (of the Mysore family), Calcutta.

- 146. Portrait of Tipu Sultan (painting).
- 147. Timur's sword with the following epigram inscribed in Persian :—
 " In the name of God the Compassionate and merciful. The hand of God is above their hands. The irresistible sword, the enemy-killer, the victorious, the sword of the King of Kings, the Monarch of Monarchs, the Sultan Sahib Qiran His Majesty Amir Timur, May God perpetuate his Kingdom and Empire "

From Mr Bahadur Singh Singhi, Calcutta.

148. An autograph letter of Lord Clive to Mr William Innes of the East India Company, dated 31 May 1764, expressing his friendship and wishing continuance of the same.
149. An autograph letter of Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) to Jos. Webbe, Esq., condemning the establishment of martial law on a certain occasion. Dated Seringapatam, 1 July 1801.
150. Album containing portraits (rare) of the Ghorri Kings, prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jahan for his Imperial Library.
151. Album of the portraits of the Emperor and other scions of the House of Timur, beginning from Timur to Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi.
152. A perforated petition from Pir Khan to Asaf-ud-Daulah, Nawab of Oudh, praying for the restitution of his forfeited land.
153. An old Government of India Currency note dated 25 May 1863 bearing the portrait of Her Majesty Queen Victoria for Rs. 1,000.

From Ajit Ghosh Collection, Calcutta.

(Owned by Mr A. Ghosh, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta).

154. A Leaf from a Kufic Quran on parchment. Written in the 8th century, probably in Mesopotamia.
155. A Leaf from a Kufic Quran. Written in the 9th century in Egypt.
156. A miniature from a ms. of the Shahnamah. Written in the beginning of the 13th century and described by M. Blochet of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, to be the oldest known ms. of Shahnamah.
157. A miniature from a ms. of the Lives of the Prophets. Written in the 15th century.
158. A Jain Miniature showing Parasnath in the middle with other Jain Saints, believed to be the earliest Jain painting, beginning of the 15th century.
- 159-60. Miniatures from the mss of the Khamsa-i-Nizami illustrated by the Master Muhammad dated 928 A. H. (1521 A. D.).
161. Specimen of calligraphy by Sultan Ali Meshedi.
162. Portrait of a Persian. (Herat School)
163. Portrait of Riza Abbasi, a famous Persian painter by his pupil Muin Musavirr.
164. Portrait of a Nobleman, probably painted in the reign of Humayun, with a Court Scene on the reverse painted in the beginning of the reign of Akbar.
165. A page from the Akbarnamah showing huntsmen bringing the head of a rhinoceros before the young Akbar, with a specimen of calligraphy by Mir Imad on the reverse.

From Ajit Ghosh Collection, Calcutta—*contd.*

166. Portrait of a Jesuit priest, probably Francis Xavier, painted by a Court painter of Akbar.
167. A miniature from a ms. of the Ramayan illustrated in the reign of Akbar.
168. Portrait of a foreigner, painted in the reign of Akbar.
169. Portrait believed to be Sher Shah.
170. Portrait of Izzat Khan, a Mughal noble.
171. Portrait of Khejrat Khan, Governor of Guzerat in the reign of Jahangir, (contemporary portrait).
172. A contemporary portrait of Emperor Shah Jahan at the time of his accession.
173. Specimen of calligraphy by Abdur Rashid Dallami, the preceptor of Dara Shiko.
174. Portrait of Bahadur Shah.
175. Portrait of Mir Jumla.
176. Portrait of a Rajput noble of the time of Emperor Jahangir.
177. Portrait of a lady, Mughal period.
178. Autograph Farman of Emperor Aurangzib.
179. Farman of Emperor Akbar.
180. Farman of Emperor Jahangir.

From Mr P. K. Das, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.

- 181-2. Two palm leaf manuscripts in gold letters of Bissuddhi Muggo, a book which can very well be termed the Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Ethical doctrines. They were received by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E., in 1886 from Buddhist Monastery in Siam.
183. A manuscript recovered from a remote Monastery in Tibet for a long time regarded as lost.

From Mr Mesroby J. Seth, Calcutta.

184. A manuscript "Life of Christ", in classical Armenian, with coloured steel engravings, written at Julfa, a suburb of Ispahan, Persia, in 1707 A.D., by Father Jacob Villotte, S. J., a French Jesuit and a renowned classical Armenian scholar, with a life of the author in English by Mesroby J. Seth, M. R. A. S.
185. A Latin-Armenian Dictionary by Father Jacob Villotte, S. J., a French Jesuit Missionary in Persia and Armenia for 25 years towards the end of the 17th century. Printed at Rome in 1714.

From Mr Mesroby J. Seth, Calcutta—*contd.*

186. A Latin translation of the History of Armenia by Moses Choreneensis, the father of Armenian historians, printed at London with the Armenian text in 1736. This is the *first* Armenian book printed in England.
187. A book of exhortations and historical miscellany printed at Madras in 1772. This is the *first* Armenian book printed in India.
188. The complete numbers of the *first* Armenian Journal 'Azdarar' (Intelligencer) printed and published at Madras from 1794-1796. This is the first Armenian newspaper in the world. It was edited, printed and published by the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon of Shiraz, the vicar of the Armenian Church at Madras from 1784-1824. There is at page 254, a copy of the Farman of the Nawab of the Carnatic (Walajah) granting permission to the editor of the 'Azdarar' to publish Arabic and Persian books at his press in addition to Armenian. This is one of the three complete copies of the Journal extant in the Armenian world.
189. An illustrated Armenian bible, printed by the Mekhitharist Society at 'St Lazare', Venice, in 1733.
190. An Armenian bible printed in small type at Constantinople in 1705.
191. A manuscript ritual of the Armenian Church with hand-painted illustrations, written at Julfa, a suburb of Ispahan, Persia, in the 17th century.
192. A facsimile of the Armenian inscription on the *oldest* Christian tombstone in the Armenian churchyard of Calcutta, dated (according to the Armenian era of Julfa) the 11th July 1630 A. D. This valuable landmark of the early history of Calcutta, was discovered in 1894 by Mr Mesroby J. Seth, M. R. A. S., author of the 'History of the Armenians in India'.
193. The Life and Works of the Armenian Catholicos (Pontiff) Abraham, a personal friend of Nadir Shah whose sword he blessed when that great warrior assumed the sovereignty of Persia. This is the first Armenian book printed in Calcutta in 1796 by the Rev. Joseph Stephen, vicar of the Armenian Church of Nazareth, Calcutta.
194. Seven Persian manuscript letters, loose sheets.
195. A Persian manuscript book.
196. An Arabic manuscript, 'Qasidah Bardah'.

PAINTINGS, ETC.

197. A painting of Akbar, in water colours.
198. A painting of Humayun, in water colours.
199. A painting of Jahangir with the Viziers. in water colours.

From Mr Mesroby J. Seth, Calcutta—contd.

200. A painting of Ahmad Shah, in water colours.
201. A painting of Sher Shah, in water colours.
202. A painting of Shah Jahan, in water colours.
203. A painting of Sujah-ud-Daulah, in water colours.
204. An ivory carved figure of Humayun.
205. An Album of the portraits of the Mughal Emperors from Timur to Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi. (Golshan-ul-Tawarikh. 23 portraits and 1 *darbar* of Akbar.)
206. Copper embossed picture of Sultan Mohamed Mirza.
207. Portrait of Akbar standing with hawk in hand.
208. Portrait of Jelal-ud-din Khilji.
209. Portrait of Prince Dara Shikoh.
210. Portrait of Krishna with his wife.
211. Portrait of the Darbar of Maharajah Kansh.
212. Picture of a Rajah's palace by the Sea.
213. Portrait of the Emperor Baber, with hawk in hand.
214. Map of ancient Armenia engraved at Venice in 1751 A. D.
215. One beautifully illuminated copy of the Quran, written by Mirza Hussain in the year 1230 A. H.

COINS.

216. Ten silver and copper Armenian coins of the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th centuries.

From Dr H. W. B. Moreno, Calcutta.

217. Original portrait of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the Anglo-Indian Poet and Reformer. (From the Oriental Herald, 1830.)

From Mr F. E. Youd, Calcutta.

218. An ivory miniature of Saifud Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1766-70.
219. An ivory miniature of Najmud Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal Bihar and Orissa, 1765-66.
220. An ivory miniature of Mubarakud-Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1770-93.

From Mr C. A. Bush, 6, Russell Street, Calcutta.

- 221. Quran over 300 years old. A fine specimen of calligraphy.
- 222. Quran written by the order of Tipu Sultan.
- 223. Portrait of Warren Hastings, by Imhoff.
- 224. Portrait of Vasco da Gama by Cardoza.
- 225. Portrait of Nana Sahib.
- 226. Reception of Vasco da Gama by the Zamorin of Calicut on the 28th May 1498—the opening up of Eastern trade with Europe.

From Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Calcutta.

- 227. Delhi Darbar.

From Mr N. N. Ganguly, Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.

- 228. The Holy Bible published for the first time in the Bengalee language. in 1802 by the Mission Press at Serampore, Bengal. 2 Volumes.

From H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).

- 229. Viqa-e-Balda-e-Elichpur, Berar Suba. Ramazan, 4 Julus (Aurangzeb.)
- 230. Akhbar-e-Durbar-e-Mo'alla. Jamadi-ul-awal, 1207 Hijra.
- 231. Rosenamcha Viqa-e-Baklanu Suba. Rabi-us-Sani, 4 Julus (Aurangzeb.)
- 232. Rose-Namcha Viqa-e-Balkhana Suba. Balda-e-Hyderabad, Moharrum, 4 Julus (Aurangzeb.)
- 233. Sketch Map of Fort Arak (Hyderabad-Deccan). Bi-lingual Map of the Nizam's Dominions (Old).
- 234. Viqa-e-Balda-e-Elichpur, Berar Suba. Shawal, 4 Julus (Aurangzeb).
- 235. Corn Market and Exchange Rate—Schedules *Balda-e-Aurangabad*. Shawal, 4 Julus (Aurangzeb).
- 236. Market-prices of *Mohamedabad Bider* 26th Ziqadda, 1205 Hijra.
- 237. Rosenamcha Viqa-e-Sirkar Raigee 1071 Hijra.
- 238. Akhbar of Asaf-ud-Dowla's Palace. 4th Ziquada, 1209 Hijra.
- 239. Akhbar of Asaf-ud-Dowla's Palace. Tipu Sultan, 2nd Shawal, 1210 Hijra.
- 240. Akhbar of the Emperor of Delhi (about 1178 Hijra).
- 241. Additional grant of the title to the Nizam Sirkar.
- 242. Akhbar of Shah Jehanabad, 14th Rabi-us-Sani, 1183 Hijra.
- 243. Akhbar of Shah Jehanabad, 7th Rajab, 1187 Hijra.
- 244. *Viqa-e-Balda-e-Elichpur*, Shawal, 4 Julus (Aurangzeb).

From H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan)—*contd.*

- 245. Akhbar Likh-va-ji, 25th Jamadi-us-Sani, 41 Julus (Aurangzeb).
- 246. *Rosenamcha Viga-e-Suba-e-Baklana*, Zihaj, 4 Julus (Aurangzeb).
- 247. Akhbar Suba-e-Berar, 6th Ramzan, 1196 Hijra.

ANCIENT GOLD COINS

- 248. Ram Tanka (one).
- 249. Gupta Coins (two).
- 250. Gold Spherules (two).
- 251. Western Chalukya Waraha (one).
- 252. Yadava King (one)
- 253. Yadava King Kambhawa or Krishna (one Padma Tanka).
- 254. Yadava King Mahadeva (one Padma Tanka).
- 255. Vijayanagar Krishna Raya (two) Pagoda and half Pagoda.
- 256. Vijayanagar Deva Raya (two) Pagoda and half Pagoda.
- 257. Vijayanagar Hari Hara Raya (one half Pagoda).
- 258. Vijayanagar Achuta Raya (two Pagoda and half Pagoda).
- 259. Pre Mughals (three Mohars).
- 260. Mughals (eight); seven Mohars, 1 half Mohar (Golconda rare).
- 261. Farrukhsya (one).
- 262. Mughals Shah Jahan Kabul (rare) (one Mohar).
- 263-7. Ashrafies (nine)—(i) Full Asrafies (five), (ii) Half (one), (iii) One fourth (one), (iv) One eighth (one), (v) One sixteenth (one).

ANCIENT HAND MADE GOLD COINS.

- 268. Ashrafi (one).
- 269. Half Ashrafi (one).
- 270. Quarter Ashrafi (one).
- 271. One-Eighth Ashrafi (one).
- 272. One Sixteenth Ashrafi (one).

CURRENT GOLD AND SILVER COINS.

- 273. Four gold coins—full, half, quarter, and one eighth of an Ashrafee (one each).
- 274. Four Charminar silver coins—full, half, quarter, and one eighth of a rupee (one each).
- 275. Four Halli Sicca silver coins—full, half, quarter and one eighth of a rupee (one each).

From H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan)—*contd.*

276. Four Charki silver coins—full, half, quarter and one eighth of a rupee (one each).
 277. Three bronze and one nickel tokens— $1/12$ th, $1/6$ th and $\frac{1}{2}$ anna bronze and one anna nickel piece.

O. S. CURRENT CURRENCY NOTES.

278. One thousand rupee note.
 279. One hundred rupee note.
 280. One ten rupee note.
 281. One five rupee note.
 282. One one rupee note.

POSTAGE STAMPS.

283. Eleven old postage stamps—three of half anna, two of one anna, two of two annas, one of three annas and one of four annas.
 284. Eight current postage stamps—one each of $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2, 4, 8 and 12 annas and one rupee.

From Raja Mohan Lal Bahadur, Hyderabad (Deccan).**PAINTINGS.**

285. Portrait of a Persian Lady—By Riza Abbasi, 1044 Hijra. Reverse: A Persian Poem in Nastaliq.
 286. Two Vasalees in Nastaliq—By Abu-ul-Baga Moosavi, 1086 Hijra and 1093 Hijra.

From Raja Rajesshor Domonda, Hyderabad (Deccan).

287. Musnavi—Sharif of Moulana Jalal-ud-din Roomi (bearing the Emperor Furruckhshiyar's Library seal).

From Moulana Mukhtar Ahmed, Hyderabad (Deccan).

288. The Holy Quran—manuscript dated 29th Rabi-ul-Awal 1093.
 289. The Holy Quran—manuscript dated 29th Rabi-ul-Awal 1093.

From Mr Abdul Latheef, B.A., Hyderabad (Deccan).

290. The Holy Quran—Ms. in Aurangzeb's own hand.
 291. The Holy Quran—Ms.
 292. The Holy Quran—Ms.
 293. Asmaul-Husna, embossed with finger nails, braille by Mr Gulam Rasool Khan, 1319 Hijra.
 294. The Holy Quran—Ms.

From Mr Abdul Latheef, B.A., Hyderabad (Deccan)—*contd.*

- 295. *Dalail-ul-khairat*—Ms.
- 296. *Divan-i-Hafiz Shirazi*—Ms. of 1217 Hijra.
- 297. *Guncha-i-Ishrat* Almaroof Tohfai-Murghoob compiled by Munshi Bulaki Das, Proprietor of *Safir-i-Hind* and *Walenton Gazette*, Delhi, with photographs of the Mughal Kings and Queens from the accession of Jalaluddin Miran Shah, son of Taimur, to the death of Abul Muzaffer Sultan Siraj-ud-Din Bahadur Shah son of Akbar Shah II, 1188 Hijra.

From Mr Abdulla Turki, Hyderabad (Deccan).

- 298. *Bayaz: An Ethnology of Persian Poets*—Ms.

From Mr. Burhanuddin, Hyderabad (Deccan).

PAINTINGS.

- 299. Portrait of an Indian Lady (Indo-Persian School) By Meer Ali, 11th Century, Hijra (17th Century A. D.). Reverse: A page from a Persian book (*Shikusta*—*Nastaliq*).
- 300. A study of Mughal School showing the meeting of two Yogis 17th century A. D. Reverse: *Naskh* Script.
- 301. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati on horse-back (Mughal School) 17th century A. D. Reverse: Two studies of calligraphy—one in *Nastaliq* by Mo'jiz-Qalum—the other in *Naskh* by Abdullah.
- 302. Portrait of a Hindu Lady Worshipper (Mughal School) 17th century A. D. Reverse: A study of calligraphy in *Shafahiya*.
- 303. Seascape, showing European Sail-ships (old Indian Marine Painting). Reverse: Specimen of *Nastaliq* calligraphy by Abdul Khaliq Jammi 950 Hijra.
- 304. Cock-fighting: Bearing the title of the Cock-fighters of Prince Hosain. Reverse: Two specimens of calligraphy—one in *Shikusta* and the other in *Nastaliq*.
- 305. An European Monochrome by Mushfiq. Reverse: Specimen of calligraphy in *Nastaliq*.
- 306. A Persian Painting showing one Prince on a horseback and another mounting the same—11th century A. D. Reverse: Good specimen of *Nastaliq* calligraphy by Shah Mahmood.

From Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Honorary Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

- 307. Four Photos of Buddhist remains at Gummididurru, Kistna District.
- 308. One set of three copper plates of Ammaraja Vijayaditya, Eastern Chalukyan King, dated tenth century A. D.

From Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Honorary Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry—*contd.*

309. One set of five copper plates of Vijayaditya VII, Eastern Chalukyan King, dated eleventh century A. D.
310. One set of three copper plates of Rajendravarma, Eastern Ganga King, dated twelfth century A. D.
311. One set of three copper plates of Devendra Varma, Eastern Ganga King, dated ninth century A. D.
312. Impressions of the copper plate inscriptions of Jayasinha II.
313. A palmyrah leaf manuscript of Raja Vachakam in Telugu, containing the history of the Aswapatis, Narapatis, and Gajapatis of South India in the sixteenth century A. D.
314. A palmyrah leaf manuscript of Padmanaik Charitra.
315. An autograph letter written in Telugu by Raja Gajapatiraj Bahadur to Governor Rumbold about the settlement of revenue affairs in Godavari District.
316. Copy of Mons. Bussy's Sanad written in Persian and dated 1172 Hijra to Candregula Juganath *alias* Jugoo Pantulu, Sheristadar of Rajahmundry Circar.
317. A copy of the *Farman* of Rustum Khan, etc., written in Persian and bearing seal, dated 1146 Hijra granting certain lands to Achanna Kalkurna.
318. A Persian *Farman* of the same period granting lands to Antanna Kalkurna.
319. A Persian *Farman* of 1147 Hijra conferring lands in Rajahmundry Circar to Antanna.
320. Five lead coins of Andhra Satavahana Kings of second century A. D.
321. Two copper coins of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyutadeva Raya of Vijayanagar Dynasty.
322. Five copper coins of Muhammadan Rulers of the Deccan.
323. A cowlé dated 1771 granted by Dupré, Warren Hastings and other members of the Council of Fort St. George to Jogi Pantulu of the Rajahmundry Circar.
324. Copy of a letter from Bouchier dated 25th September 1769, confirming the Grandy Nizamuddaulah to Shrinivas Rao *alias* Jogi appointing him Muzumdar and Sheristadar of Rajahmundry Circar and ordering the Zamindar to recognise his requests.
325. Letter from Smith, Governor of Fort St. George, dated 14th February 1781, to the Zamindars in the Circars of Rajahmundry asking them to pay their kist to Venkata Rao.

(All autograph letters.)

From the Government House Collection, Nagpur.

- 326. Oil painting of Sir Richard Jenkins.
- 327. Two old prints of the Battle of Sitabuldi.
- 328. One cannon ball recovered from the battle field of Assaye.
- 329. Note (in frame) on the large gun mounted near the guard room at Government House.

From the Secretariat Record Room, Central Provinces, Nagpur.

- 330-44. Fifteen Volumes of records relating to the Nagpur Residency, 1803-19. The Volume for 1803-04 contains nine autograph and holograph letters of Sir Arthur Wellesley afterwards Duke of Wellington.

From the Curator of the Nagpur Museum.

- 345. Two old iron spears exposed by the cutting away of the bank of Mahanadi at Chandrapur in Bilaspur district, belonging to the early Iron Age.
- 346-9. Arms as follows:—
 - (a) Korba weapons used in the Korba Zamindari, Bilaspur—one axe, three bows and seven arrows.
 - (b) Weapons used by the Maria Gonds of the Bastar State.
 - (c) Two trophies of 11 and 12 weapons each.
 - (d) Ten bows, one trophy of arrows and one shield.
- 350-3. Gond Arms:—
 - (a) Totadar banduk (gun).
 - (b) Singada with Ranjakdan (powder horn).
 - (c) Two swords.
 - (d) One shield.
- 354-65. Old arms from the Central Provinces:—
 - (a) Two Jingals, *i.e.*, old cannon-like guns probably used to man the old Gond Fort.
 - (b) Gazail or wall piece, *i.e.*, a gun with a very long barrel from Kaoras village, Nagpur district.
 - (c) Daggers.
 - (d) Blunderbuss.
 - (e) Flint lock pistol.
 - (f) Sword made from the snout of a saw-fish, belonging to a Gond chieftain.
 - (g) Sword rocket from Nagpur.
 - (h) ' Maru '.
 - (i) The dagger that was passed round as a signal during the Bastar rising of 1910. It belonged to Lal Kalendra Singh, uncle of the Feudatory Chief of the Bastar State and the chief instigator of the Bastar rebellion of 1910. It was sent by him to the

From the Curator of the Nagpur Museum—contd.

aboriginal tribes in the south of the State as a signal to them to join in the rebellion, but was intercepted and made over to the State authorities by Jankaiyya, Dewan of Sukma Zamin-dari.

- (j) One signal staff.
- (k) One Persian Helmet.
- (l) One Brass Helmet.

366-8. Inscriptions on stone:—

- (a) Battiagarh inscription of the Vikrama year 1385 (A. D. 1320) found in the district of Drug. Written in Sanskrit in Devanagri character.
- (b) Tewar inscription of Gayakarmadeva (Chedi) year 902. Found near Jubbulpore. Genealogy of the Chedi Kings is given in it (1151 A. D.).
- (c) Devanagri inscription from Saugor. A unique record, notifying imprecations to prevent the adoption of an illegitimate issue from succeeding to the Guddi of Orcha.

369-71. Copper plate charters:—

- (a) copper plate charter of the Parivrajaka Maharaja Samkshobha, dated in the Gupta year 199 or A. D. 518. Said to have come from Betul.
- (b) Copper plate charter issued in the 5th year of the reign of Mahajayaraja assignable to the end of the 7th century A. D. said to have come from Arang near Raipur.
- (c) Jubbulpore Kotwali—Copper plate charter of Joyasimhadeva of the Kalachuri. (Date 1166 A. D.).

372. Sanads—Farman of the Reign of Emperor Jahangir.

373-4. Pictures:—

- (a) Maratha paintings.
Members of the Bhonsla Family.
Mahadeo and Parvati;
Genealogical tree of the Bhonsla family.
- (b) Mughal paintings.
Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah in Durbar.
Akbar and his nine jewels.

375-94. Coins:—

Metal.	Name of King and description	Mint and date.	REMARKS.
COINS OF WESTERN SATRAPS.			
(a) Silver	Rudra Sen, I. M. K., Obv. bust of king. Inscription in Greek characters. Date behind head.	12 X	This is the largest find of this kind that has ever been discovered in India.

From the Curator of the Nagpur Museum—*contd.*

Metal.	Name of King and description.	Mint and date.	REMARKS.
COINS OF WESTERN SATRAPS— <i>contd</i>			
(b) Silver	Damasena M. K., as above in addition his name and his father's name written.	1 (4) 7	
(c) Silver	Ditto ditto . . .	15 (1)	
(d) Silver	Ditto ditto . . .	155	
RASHTRAKUTA.			
(e) Silver	Krishna Raja Rashtrakut. Head of king with moustaches. No legend. Recumbent Bull to right, Indian legend "Parama Maheshwara Mahaditya Pandanudhyata Shrikrishna Raja"	375-400 A. D.	1,600 coins of this type were discovered in the Amraoti District on road to Kolhapur.
(f) 1 Gold and 2 Silver.	Anonymous Chalukya coins . . .	?	
(g) Gold (4 coins).	The coins have a tiger on one side and the inscription "Srimadya Madyocha Deva" in three lines. The name of the king does not suit all right nor does it give any sense.	About 11th or 12th century A. D.	These four coins included in a find of 600 gold coins of E Chedi Kings in the Bilaspur District.
(h) Copper (2 coins).	Jatha, Gond King of Deogarh . . .	?	Discovered at Deogarh in Chhindwara District.
(i) Copper	Koksa, Gond King of Deogarh, descendant of Jatha.	...	Ditto
PATHAN SULTANS.			
(j) Gold . . .	Alauddin Muhammad II . . .	Delhi 702 A. H. (1302 A. D.)	
(k) Gold . . .	Muhammad Bin Tughlaq . . .	(1325-1357 A. D.)	This is the type of his coins struck in the name of Khalifa Al Askar II.
MUGHAL EMPERORS.			
(l) Gold . . .	Akbar, Square coins. Kalima type . . .	Ahmedabad 968 A. H.	
(m) Silver	Akbar, Round Ilahi type . . .	Ahmedabad 49 Tir.	
(n) Gold . . .	Jahangir	Agra 1022 A. H.	In the 8th year of his reign.
(o) Silver	Jahangir. Square coin . . .	Lahore 1019 A. H.	
(p) Gold . . .	Shah Jahan. Name of king and kalima in area.	Daulatabad 1067-30 A. H.	
(q) Silver	Shah Jahan. Kalima in area . . .	Delhi 1043 A. H.	
(r) Gold . . .	Aurangzib	Aurangabad 1074-16 A. H.	Common type of Aurangzib.
(s) Silver	Do.	Akbarabad 47th Regal year.	
(t) Gold . . .	Farrukh Siyar	Ellichpur 3-1126 A. H.	This is the only gold coin of this King and of this mint that has ever been discovered.

From Mr R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur.

- 395. Two old swords.
- 396. One old gun.
- 397. One old cannon.
- 398. Two old cannon balls.
- 399. A copy of the "London Times" of November 7, 1805, publishing news of the battle of Trafalgar.
- 400. One box containing tobacco of the year 1623.

From Raja Bahadur Raghuji Rao Bhonsla.

(Through Mr G. R. Deoskar, Officer, Court of Wards, Nagpur.)

- 401. Two manuscript books.
- 402. An autograph letter of Lord William Bentinck to Raghuji III of Nagpur written in 1833 A. D.
- 403. Five Khalitas or mail bags that were used by the Marathas for sending confidential letters.
- 404-10. Old paintings as follows:—
 - (a) Jayaji Rao Maharaj Lascar.
 - (b) Krishna and Gopies.
 - (c) Picture containing three miniature paintings, (i) Sultan Abdul Hasan, (ii) Shah Qalandar Ali, (iii) Jalal Shah.
 - (d) Sur Buland Khan Bahadur.
 - (e) Picture of an elephant and an army.
 - (f) Picture containing six miniature paintings as follows: (i) Nizamuddin of Delhi, (ii) Shah Bo Ali Qalandar, (iii) Muin-ud-din Chishti, (iv) Quth, (v) Baba Farid Shakar Jang, (vi) Name not written.
 - (g) Takt Singh of Jodhpur.

From Raja Azam Shah of Nagpur.

(Through Mr G. R. Deoskar, Officer, Court of Wards, Nagpur.)

- 411. One Zari Patka.
- 412. Two guns.

From the Mounda Estate.

(Through Mr G. R. Deoskar, Officer, Court of Wards, Nagpur.)

- 413. An old painting of Rana Pratap Singh.
- 414. Two arm covers—very old.

From the Mounda Estate—contd.

- 415. One old pistol with Urdu inscription on it.
- 416. One case containing six arrows.
- 417. One old bow.
- 418. One old elephant goad with Persian inscription on it.

From Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis.

(Through Mr G. R. Deoskar, Officer, Court of Wards, Nagpur.)

- 419. An old Bakhar in Modi script containing some copies of letters.
- 420. A Bakhar in Modi script of the Nagpur Bhonslas.
- 421. An incomplete Bakhar of the Bhonslas in Modi script.
- 422. A bound volume containing the texts of fair treaties between the Bhonslas and the British in Modi as well as Persian.
- 423. A questionnaire with replies sent by the Resident to one Vinayak Rao Baba regarding the information about important families in Nagpur with a description of the administrative system.
- 424. A list giving the names of villages in the Bombay Presidency belonging to the Bhonslas.
- 425. A memo. of the dates of some important events.

From the Principal of the Morris College, Nagpur.

- 426. Two old prints of the battle of Sitabuldi.

Collected by Professor Hirde Narain, M.A., B.T., Morris College, Nagpur.

- 427-9. Three sanads from Basim (Berar)—

- (a) Sanad granted by Badarshah Shahji Sulaiman Asaf Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk Mir Nizam Ali Khan Fateh Jung to Nawab Abdul Kadir (Muharrum 1197 A. H.).
- (b) Sanad in favour of Nawab Abdul Kadir by Nizam-ul-Mulk Birjam Ali Khan Bahadur (1183 A. H.).
- (c) Sanad granted by Badarshah Shahji Sulaiman Asaf Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk Mir Nizam Ali Khan Fateh Jung to Baji Rao of Gandeshwar Jagir (1171 A. H.).

- 430. Three Arabic manuscripts.

- 431. One old image from Rohankheda, near Malkapur (Berar).

- 432-7. Six original sanads from Rohankheda bearing the following seals—

- (a) Seal of Md. Jaffar Ali Nizam-ul-Mulk—1217 A. H.
- (b) Sanad given by Emperor Jahangir to Raj Kosh Jagannath of Rohankheda—1217 A. H.

Collected by Professor Hirde Narain, M.A., B.T., Morris College, Nagpur—
contd.

- (c) Sanad bearing the seal of Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim.
- (d) Sanad bearing the seal of Kazi Md. Jaffar Nawab Asaf Jah—
1051 A. H. (An agreement of service by Jaoji Seth Deshmukh
of Rohankheda).
- (e) Sanad given to Khan Khanan Bairam Khan—1011 A. H.
- (f) Receipt of acknowledgment given by Jaoji Seth Deshmukh to
Mahmud Mohisin—1019 A. H.

Owned by Rajaram Patel of Lakhpuri (Berar).

438. Two copper plate inscriptions.

Owned by Khwaja Gulam Rabbani, Malkapur (Berar).

439. Tarikh-i-Hind—A Persian manuscript.

Owned by Mr Kishanlal, Agarwal, Vice President, Jalgaon Municipality.

- 440. Tawarikh-i-Rajawali (A Persian manuscript 1248 A. H.)
- 441. History of India (A Persian manuscript 1148 A. H.)
- 442. Kashaish-Nama by Khwaja Rajkaran (A Persian manuscript about
1262 A. H.).
- 443. Risala Khush-Nawisi by Rai Hiralal Bakshi, Bhopal State (A Persian
manuscript 1283 A. H.).
- 444. Tarikh-i-Nizamia—Part I (A Persian manuscript).
- 445. Wakait-i-Nadari by Abdul Karim (A Persian manuscript).
- 446. A Persian manuscript on Miscellaneous subjects (Medicine, etc.).
- 447. Two Albums of Mughal Paintings.
- 448. Farang-i-Gulistan (A Persian manuscript 1243 A. H.).
- 449. Badai-ul-Insha (A Persian manuscript).
- 450. Collection of Mirza Mehdi (A Persian manuscript, 1248 A. H.).
- 451. Karima, Khalig bari, Tajnis-ul-Lugat, Nasaib-i-Rufi. (Specimen of
Calligraphy—Persian manuscript—1126 A. H.)

Owned by Mr Dastur, Bar-at-Law, Akola.

- 452. An old short sword with a scabbard.
- 453. An elephant's goad with ivory handle.

From Professor S. S. L. Chordia, M.A., Morris College, Nagpur.

- 454. Forty-four old original paintings of musical ragas, etc.

Collected by Prof. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Morris College, Nagpur.

Owned by Sardar Venkat Rao Gujar.

455. Family tree of the Bhonslas.
456. A manuscript copy of Sapta Shati in Marathi.
457. A Sanskrit manuscript copy of the Uttarkanda of Adhyatma Ramayan of Valmiki, with a valuable Sanskrit commentary.
458. A passport issued by Mr Cavendish, Resident of Nagpur, in 1833, to the officers to provide a safe journey to Raghuji Bhonsla III on his way to Konkan *en route* to Lahore.
459. A manuscript translation of the " Kapil Gita " originally written in Sanskrit.
460. A letter of Vyankoji Bhonsla who received the Chhattisgarh Province as an appanage to Vithal Dixit from Sambalpur, granting him one village, yielding an annual income of rupees five hundred and asking him to pray to God for his welfare.
461. A sanad given by Raghuji Bhonsla II to one Vithal Dinkar, appointing him the Civil Officer of Chhattisgarh dated 1792 A. D. (Contains Raghuji's seal.)
462. A letter from Raghuji II to Vithal Dinkar stating the amount of daily allowance to all his subordinates (it also bears his seal).
463. An order to Vithal Dinkar instructing him about the appointments of Karkuns, etc., and their annual wages (bears Raghuji's seal).
464. A letter of Raghuji II to Vithal Dinkar, Subhedar of Chhattisgarh; asking him to be prepared as the season of invasion was approaching. It also contains Raghuji's seal.
465. An old sword—said to have been used by Pratap Rao Gujar, the famous Commander-in-Chief of Sivaji.
466. An old pistol.
467. An old dagger with an ivory handle in which were once set valuable jewels.

Collected by Prof. K. M. Vaidya, M.A., Morris College, Nagpur.

Owned by the Subhedar family of Saugor.

PAINTINGS.

469. Picture of four women.
470. Two young ladies.
471. Picture of Ganpati with his two wives.
472. One Mughal Sardar.
473. Rama, Laxman, Sita and Hanuman.

Collected by Professor K. M. Valdy, M.A., Morris College, Nagpur—contd.

474. An old Hindu gentleman with a flower in his hand and a sword by his side.
475. Four ladies taking their bath.
476. Rama and Sita seated on the throne with courtiers around them.
477. Radha Krishna.
478. Hanuman and his friends serving Rama.
479. One lady dressing her hair.
480. A woman going to draw water.
481. The Goddess Laxmi.
482. A member of the Peshwa's household with one of his attendants.
483. Some ladies being watched by a man concealed behind the trees.
484. Hanuman standing.
485. Portrait of Govind Rao Sao of Saugor.
486. Two framed ivory pictures of historical personages.
487. One unframed picture of a historic personage.

MANUSCRIPTS.

488. Two books of history written in Marathi.
489. Testimonials of Venkat Rao Subhedar of Saugor.
490. Five khalitas or old mail bags.

Collected by Mr N. L. Belekar, M.A., Nagpur.

Owned by Sardar K. B. Bhuskutey of Burhanpur.

491. Old painting of Vishnu. Inlaid with gold and precious stones.
492. Painting of Krishna Murti of the same description.
493. Painting of Rama, Laxman and Sita of the same description.
494. Painting of Ganpati of the same description.
495. Painting of Goddess Durga riding a tiger (of the same description).
496. Painting of Vithoba of Pandharpur of the same description.
- 497-501. Pictorial representation of the following Ragas and Raginis (Music)—
 - (a) of Raga Vasant,
 - (b) of Raga Nimaru,
 - (c) of Ragini Madhu Madhini,
 - (d) of Raga Kanara,
 - (e) of Raga Desa.
502. Picture of a Muhammadan lady.
503. Picture of a Rajput lady.

Collected by Mr N. L. Belekar, M.A., Nagpur—contd.

- 504. Picture of an old man with a child.
- 505. Picture of a Rajput lady belonging to a Royal Rajput family (Jodh Bai?).
- 506. Original painting of Shah Jahan.
- 507. Original painting of some Mughal Sardar.
- 508. Original painting of some other Mughal Sardar.
- 509. One old shield being the family relic.

Owned also by the same family.

- 510. Sanad given by Balaji Baji Rao, the third Peshwa to Rajaram Ballal, the ancestor of the family, bearing his seal and the seal of the Raja Sahu.
- 511. Sanad given by the same Peshwa in the reign of Ram Raja, the ancestor of Sahu bearing his seal.
- 512. Sanad given by Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur during the reign of Ram Raja. It bears the seal of the Bhonsla.
- 513. Sanad given to the ancestor of the family by Madhav Rao Narayan Peshwa bearing his seal (during the *de facto* régime of Nana Farnavis).
- 514. Sanad given by Peshwa Baji Rao II to the ancestor of the family.
- 515. Sanad given by Daulat Rao Sindhia to the ancestor of the family.
- 516. Original autograph letter of Mahadji Sindhia to the Kamawaisdar (Civil Officer) of Khandwa.
- 517. Original letter of Chimnaji Damodar Sachiv (Minister of Baji Rao I) to the ancestor of the family.
- 518. Original letter of Raja Maha Singh and Kunwar Chimansa, the rulers of Sawaligarh in Berar to the ancestors of the family. It bears their seal.
- 519. Sanad given by Raja Bharat Shah Hatiya, the ruler of Mukrai State, to the ancestor of the family, bearing his seal.
- 520. Sanad given by Raja Khandanshah Hatiya, the ruler of Mukrai State, to the ancestor of the family.
- 521. Original letter of Durga Das Bhawani, the Ambassador of the Mukrai State at Poona, written to Raja Khandanshah Hatiya of Mukrai.
- 522. One very old sword, double tongued towards the end, used by the ancestor of the family during the time of Baji Rao I.

From Mr Chintaman Tambe, Craddook Town, Nagpur.

- 523. One photograph of a painting on glass of the Rani of Jhansi, who figured in the Mutiny of 1857.
- 524. One dagger of quartz handle belonging to her.

From Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Katni, Bilaspur District.

525. Manuscript copy of a historical poem of the Baghela Dynasty (Rewah Durbar).

Collected by Mr M. Abdul Kadir Siddiqi, M.L.A., Burhanpur.

Owned by Maulvi Akramullah of Burhanpur.

526. Family genealogical table on cloth written in 1050 A. H.
 527. Manuscript copy of Fatwa-a-Bahari.
 528. Manuscript copy of the Mukhtamal Latif.
 529. Three original sanads given by the Mughal Emperors to the ancestor of Qazi Mohibur Rahman of Burhanpur.

From Mr W. V. Grigson, I.C.S., Administrator, Bastar State.

530. Two old copper plates with inscriptions on them.

From the Ruling Chief of Kanker State.

531. Two copper plates with inscriptions on them.

From the Ruling Chief of Raigarh State.

532. A short history of the Raigarh State.
 533. A parwana sent by the East India Company.
 534. A genealogical table.
 535. A manuscript copy of the Gita, beautifully illustrated.
 536. Chikitsa Manjiri (manuscript) in Uriya.
 537. Photographs of pre-historic rock paintings of Singhanpur.
 538. A photograph of a circle on a rock at Nawagarh.
 539. Photographs of paintings on a rock at Karmagarh.
 540. Photograph of a painting on Kabra Hill.

From the Ruling Chief of Sarangarh State.

541. Two manuscript books, one of which was Jai Chandrika.
 542. Four copper plate grants.
 543. 68 antiquated silver coins.

Collected by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pande, Raigarh, Chhattisgarh, representative of the Feudatory States in the Central Provinces.

544-50. Seven inscriptions on stones with excellent description and full references—

- (a) Inscription of the reign of Mahasina Gupta Balaijuna attributable to the 7th or 8th century A. D. said to have come from Sirpur, Berar.
- (b) Fragmentary inscription of the reign of Sivagupta. Attributable to the 7th or 8th century A. D. Said to have come from Sirpur. Noticed in Cunningham's A. S. R. Vol. II, p. 27.
- (c) Fragmentary inscription of the reign of Senadeo. Attributable to the 7th or 8th century. Said to have come from Drug.
- (d) Fragmentary inscription—completely worn away. Attributable to the 7th or 8th century. Said to have come from Sirpur.
- (e) Fragmentary dedicatory inscription of King Gopala, probably identical with Gopaldeo of the Baramdeo inscription. Noticed in Cunningham's A. S. R. Vol. XVII. Attributable to the beginning of the 10th century A. D. Said to have come from Raipur.
- (f) Akaltara fragmentary inscription of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpura (Chhattisgarh). Attributable to the 12th century A. D. Noticed in the Indian Antiquary Vol. IX, p. 8.
- (g) Khalari inscription of the reign of Hari Brahmadeo of the Vikrama year 1470.

551. Photographs of two unidentified coins.

552. Two arrows used by Gond from Sarangarh.

553. Twenty battle axes.

554-8. Ancient stone idols—

- (a) Rishabh Nath.
- (b) Mallinath or Mahavira.
- (c) Four Gond Memorials.
- (d) Adhinatha.
- (e) Parasnath.

559. Three sculptured stones.

560. 16 copper weapons from Balaghat.

561. 24 old copper coins having inscriptions.

Collected by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pande, Raigarh, Chhattisgarh, representative of the Feudatory States in the Central Provinces—*contd.*

562-9. 8 silver and copper medals commemorating:—

- (a) the foundation of Benares College.
- (b) Accession of Queen Victoria.
- (c) Conquest of Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul.
- (d) The Mutiny.
- (e) The annexation of Coorg.
- (f) Conquest of Ghazni and Kabul.
- (g) Conquest of Ghazni.
- (h) Annexation of Nagpur.

570. 12 square copper coins.

571. 15 silver coins with Arabic inscriptions.

From the Chhattisgarh C. P. Mandali.

(Through Mr Lochan Prasad Pande, representative of the Feudatory States in the Central Provinces.)

- 572. Impression of Kotmi stone sculpture.
- 573. Photograph of Adbher inscribed pillar.
- 574. Photograph of Kirar inscribed pillar.
- 575. An eye copy of the above inscription.
- 576. Ramgarh cave paintings from Surguja State.
- 577. A photograph of the Padampur Sati stone.
- 578. An impression of Puraji Pali inscription.
- 579. Impression of the inscription on the Mahamaya temple.
- 580. Impression of a copper plate grant—Chedi era 880.
- 581. Raja Takhat Singh's letter to his brother.
- 582. A copy of an emblem of Ratanpur kings (Karikanha Bana).

Collected by Mr N. R. Chandorkar, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Akola, Berar.

- 583. Sanad—dated 1082 A. H.
- 584. Genealogy of the Deshmukhs—300 years old.
- 585. Gift deed of the year 542.
- 586. Partition deed of the year 553.
- 587. Sale deed of the year 519.
- 588. Partition deed of the year 582.
- 589. Sanad from Raja Chandulal 1228 A. H.

Collected by Mr N. R. Chandorkar, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Akola, Berar—contd.

- 590. Partition deed of the year 582 (Dattatrao Kadtoba Rao).
- 591. Sanad of the year 1159 A. D. (from Khanderao Vithuji Deshmukh, Patil of Risod).
- 592. A map of Risod Pargana.
- 593. Deshpandeyan seal of the year 1072.
- 594. Waslat Nama Shakti 1199.
- 595. Sanad—dated 1204 A. H.
- 596. Pucharati Kavya.
- 597. Pravachan Sar Tika.
- 598. Yogamrut in Kanari language.
- 599. Nyayamanidipika.
- 600. A picture of an old Muhammadan.

Owned by Raja Gopal Rao Kashi Rao Jaghirdar, Malegaon, Tal Basim, Berar.

- 601. One old shield.
- 602. One gunpowder horn.
- 603. Two copper plates with inscriptions.
- 604. One tiger's claws (a weapon).
- 605. One broken sword.
- 606. One old gun.
- 607. Two old pistols.

Owned by Mr B. N. Deshpande, Risod, Taluq Basim, Berar.

- 608. Two old swords.

Owned by Balaji Sansthan, Basim, Berar.

- 609. One broken shield.

Owned by Ratnath Maharaj Sansthan, Basim, Berar.

- 610. One sandal-wood Chouri.

Collected by Mr T. Fernandez, M.A., Assistant Professor, King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar).

Owned by Kunwar Daulat Shah of Uparvahi.

- 611. Genealogical tree of the Gond Rajas of Nagpur.
- 612. A manuscript history of the Gond Rajas of Deogarh compiled by Govind Rao Shiv Rao, a courtier of the Gond Rajas in 1878.
- 613-4. Two original sanads—one granting a mansab to Wali Mahmud (1719 A. D.), the other granting a jagir to Muhammad Chand (1720 A. D.).

**Collected by Syed Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.,
Professor, King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar).**

Owned by Khan Bahadur Syed Azmat Hussein Sahib, Khatib Masjid-i-Jame, Ellichpur (Berar).

615. Himayal-i-Sharif—size $2'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ —pages 554, 20 lines on an average per page—probable date before 260 A. H.—worm-eaten.
616. Quran-i-sharif—size $9'' \times 5''$ —776 pages—dated 1074 A. H.
617. Quran-i-sharif (with Persian translation in red between the lines) big size $13'' \times 10''$ —pages 938.
618. Himayal—(Musallas)—size $8'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ —pages 1022.
619. Quran-i-sharif with Fahnama. The last four pages contain the Fahnama (augury) of the Quran in Persian verse.
620. Tafsir-i-Baizani. Vol. II (incomplete), size $10'' \times 6''$ —pages 512—written by Shah Md. Ibrahim in 951 A. H. The Quranic text is in red ink. The Arabic commentary in black ink.
621. Tafsir-i-Hussaini—size $9'' \times 5''$. Pages 1396. Written by Daulat Muhammad, son of Mohd. Fath Ahmad Abadi. Finished on Wednesday 25th Ranzan 1054 A. H.
622. Jumah (other prayers added on afterwards) size $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Jumah proper 90 beautifully written pages. Marginal lines and space between lines in glittering gold. Marginal notes in Arabic in small hand. Written at the Command of Aurangzib by Mahmud.
623. Masnavi-i-Rumi (Sufism) with marginal notes—appears to be very old. Coronation dates given(?)
624. Hakiqat-lal-Hakiqat of Hakim Sanai (Sufism).
625. Lataif-ul-Mau'sani (*i.e.*, Commentary on the Masnavi of Rumi)—completed in Rajab 563 A. H.
626. Diwan-i-Hafiz (Poetical works of Hafiz).
627. Subhat-ul-Akrar of Jami—(Sufism) with beautiful illustrations—appears to be very old.
628. Mirsad-ul-Ibad—a philosophical treatise written by Jalali in 985 A. H.
629. Manaqibul-Azrifeen (Lives of Saints) in Persian—size $9'' \times 6''$, pages 602. Appears to be written by two hands. It contains ten chapters. On page 2 the date of the writing of the book is given as 710 A. H. It is incomplete towards the end.
630. Jame-ur-Rumooz (Jurisprudence) in Arabic—very old and tattered—written in 941 A. H.
631. Fatwa (Jurisprudence). Arabic-Persian. The whole book has been written in the Arabic character. Very old and tattered. It is incomplete.

Collected by Syed Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.,
Professor, King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar)—*contd.*

632. Anwar-i-Suhaili (The lights of Canopus). A philosophical treatise written in Karanja (Berar)—finished on Tuesday 18th Jamad-i-Sani 942 A. H.
633. Risalaj Rutbiya (Logic Essentials in Arabic). Written at Sironj (?) by Mohd. Ali, son of Nurul-dal-ul-Hussaini in 1025 A. H. in Persian character as a present to the Court of Sultan Mohd. Ruz Shah.
634. Tarikh-i-Anjadi (History of Berar in Persian) size foolscap, pages 733. Completed in 1287 A. H. by Amjad Hussain, Khatib of Ellichpur. Contains genealogical tables of the Nizam, the Nawabs and the Khatibs of Ellichpur. He received a reward of Rs. 250 from the Resident of Hyderabad for this work.
635. Tarikh-i-Chiragh-i-Berar (Urdu translation of the above).
636. Akhbar Namai-Haft Kishwar. Written by the order of Nawab Namdar Khan Panni by Munshi Hashwant Rai in running hand commencing from 15th Jilkada 1239 A. H. and ending on Monday 7th Shaban 1240 A. H. It is a mine of information about the period.
637. Shamsul Akhbar written by Hashwant Rai by the order of Namdar Khan Panni. It is as valuable as the above.
638. Sanhasan Batlisi—only four leaves in Persian. Every page illustrated in colour.
639. Twelve waslis and pictures.
640. Sanad bearing the seal of Yusuf Zurk-Ulugh-i-Nizam.
641. Farman of Shah Jahan, granting Jalgaon to Bibi Jan.
642. Old Khilat, *i.e.*, 1 chira, 1 robe and 1 Kamarband.
643. One Katar with silver beaten hilt.
644. One Pesh Kabz.
645. One Hussaini Zegha with gold beaten blade.
646. One Asa (staff) containing a *Jupli*.
647. One sand glass—very old, but still working.
648. One coin of Farrukh Siyar.
649. Two old documents—Persian and Modi (Marathi).

Owned by Syed Karam Mohinuddin, Ellichpur.

650. One Pandan set of Bidar make.
651. Tattered garment worn by the great grandfather of the owner who was killed by his slave on the 10th Muharram when Gawilgarh was captured.
652. Masuani-i-Badr-i-Munir-Mir Hassan.

**Collected by Syed Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.,
Professor, King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar)—*contd.***

653. Diwan-i-germail—Poetical works of Nawab Namdar Khan Panni of Ellichpur, 1230-1260 A. H.—in a tattered condition.
654. Jawahir-ul-Tafsir in Persian. The whole book is in Persian character with a commentary. Completed in 977 A. H. Very artistically decorated.
655. Fatawa-i-said Khani. Vol. I. Written in Saidabad by Abdul Karim, son of Mulla Ali by the order of Nawab Mohd. Said Khan, 2nd Zil Hijja 998 A. H.
656. Sahib-ul-Bhukari. It was purchased in the time of Aurangzib (1117 A. H.).

Owned by Kazi Zafar Ali Sahib, Patur, Berar.

657. The Holy Quran. Appears to be very old. Finished in 23(?) (Coronation year?). First two pages very artistically decorated.
658. The Holy Quran—old print.

Owned by Mr Kishan Patel, Bench Magistrate, Balapur, Berar.

659. One old sword—eyes set with red jewels.

Owned by Mr V. B. Hundiwala, Bench Magistrate, Balapur.

- 660-3. Four old pictures in colour on glass as follows:—

- (a) Begum on horseback.
- (b) A Prince.
- (c) An old man.
- (d) A young lady.

Owned by Mr Chhaganlal, Ellichpur, Berar.

664. One very old white jazim beautifully embroidered in silk, 27' × 9'.

Owned by Mr Abdul Tamiz, Islampur. Berar.

665. One spear head.
666. Two Kulfies (hukka bases) of Bidar make. Beautiful designs.

Owned by Mr Syed Zianuddin Sahib Gadani, Akot, Berar.

667. One Punja—made of a combination of all metals. Names of 12 Imams engraved on one side.

Owned by Rao Sahib Moti Singi, Anjangaon, Berar.

668. One account book. 118 years old. Space left about the stitches for daily debit and credit accounts.

Collected by Syed Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.,
Professor, King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar)—*contd.*

Owned by Mr Govind Rao Deshpande, Surgi, Anjangaon, Berar.

669. One sword—hilt gold beaten.

670. Three photographs by Mr Seaman, I.C.S., of the house and the place where the Treaty of Surgi Anjangaon was signed. One gives the site of the old house of which one wall still stands and two give an idea of the hall and the woodwork that has been shifted to build the present house.

Owned by Mr Rahmat Khan Sahib, Political Pensioner, Ellichpur, Berar.

671. One turban—a family relic.

672. One very old china plate.

673. One very old Neemeba or a child's sword.

674. One spear of half rusted steel used by horsemen in the early days.

675. One old Katar with a gold beaten hilt.

676. One old sanad granted to his ancestor.

Owned by Mr Mahomed Bismillah Khan, Ellichpur.

677. One Sang or Iron Spear.

Owned by Mr Shahgram Fatehgram Sowar, Ellichpur.

678. One bound Diary containing "News from Land and the Sea" commencing from 25th Shawal 1257 A. H. and ending on 17th Shaban 1259 A. H.

679. One old sword—trident mark on the blade near the hilt.

680. One old sword—three stars marked on the blade near the hilt.

681. Pictures of Sawilgarh and Ellichpur personages.

Owned by Mr Wazir Ali Sahib, Ellichpur.

682. One hukka base of Bidar make.

Owned by Mr Abdul Qadir Sahib, Akot, Berar.

683. One Sang, iron-spear broken in two.

Owned by Mir Dilawar Ali, Jagirdar, Asadpur, Amraoti, Berar.

684. One old sword of undulating edge, double tongued; blade engraved on both sides. Writing on both sides: very old family relic.

Collected by Syed Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.,
Professor, King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar)—*contd.*

Owned by Mir Riyasat Ali, Khan Sahib, Jagirdar, Asadpur.

- 685. One old sword—beautifully designed hilt—gold beaten.
- 686. One old sword—Tegh, very much bent and heavy—silver polished handle.
- 687. One old sword—very thin blade and very flexible; a family relic.
- 688. One double pointed spear head.
- 689. One old document. Application of Sahibun-Nisa Begum to Mukhlis Ali Khan, the Nawab (Nizam?) for help and grant in her widowhood. Paper sprinkled with gold and silver—running hand.
- 690. A document. A proposal (recommendation) for Mir Mukhlis Ali (Khan Sahib) in the 4th year of the coronation of Aurangzib.
- 691. A document; proposal (recommendation) for the title of "Kayan Jang" to Wajid Ali Khan 1170 A. H.
- 692. A document; proposal (recommendation) for the title of "Qayam-ud-Daulah" to Wajid Ali Khan by Mir Nizam Ali Khan. Gold flowers all over the paper.
- 693. One sanad—to Nizam Ali Khan Asad Jang from Asaf-ul-Mulk, in 1169 A. H. for the Subhedarship of Berar.

Owned by Khan Sahib Syed Mahmud Jagirdar, Balapur, Berar.

- 694. The Holy Quran. This is supposed to have been written by Imam Abu Hanifa. When the ancestor of the Jagirdar decided to start for India he selected three treasures for himself (a) one hair of the Holy Prophet (b) Malpogat of Ghaus-i-Azam and (c) this Holy Quran which has left Balapur for the first time since its arrival in India.
- 695. One farman granted by Md. Bahadur Shah in 1120 A. H. Amakapur given to Safiullah Khan Qadiri.
- 696. One farman of Aurangzib granting Chitore (Berar) to Safiullah Khan Qadiri.
- 697. One farman of Shah Jahan granting Lasoora to Miran Syed Mahmud in the 6th year of his coronation.
- 698. One farman of Jahangir given in the 10th year of his Coronation granting Lasoora to Miran Syed Mahmud, the ancestor of the present Jagirdar. It was he who brought the three treasures from Baghdad.
- 699. One betel-leaf shape seal (unidentified).
- 700. One oval seal of Abdul Wahid Qadiri.
- 701. One oval seal of Zakir Saiyid Mahmud Hussaini.
- 702. One kalamdan (pen box) made of cardboard and a product of Balapur (Berar) where paper industry flourished at a time.
- 703. One round seal of Safiullah Qadiri—1140 A. H.

Collected by Syed Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.,
Professor, King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar)—*contd.*

Owned by Mr Kazi Syed Karam Mohiuddin, Ellichpur.

704. Taweezi Quran 1½" diameter. Text in octagons of double margin 1" thick. Tattered loose papers. It has come down since time immemorial.

Owned by Mr Aba Sahib Deshpande, Bench Magistrate, Ellichpur.

705. One helmet with a nose piece—it was worn by Nawab Ismail Khan Panni of Ellichpur—gold beaten.
706. One chain armour—part of armour that was worn by Nawab Ismail Khan.
707. One chain neck protector—made of copper and steel rings—worn by Nawab Ismail Khan.
708. One Kulfi or hukka base of cocoanut shape.
709. One very old shield of tortoise shell with 4 knobs on top.
710. One brass inkpot two cases of the same metal attached to it for pens.
711. One pistol of old type.

Owned by Mr Mir Muhammad Ali Khan, Jagirdar, Wasni, Asadpur.

712. One sword—very old ring attached to the blade.
713. One old Katar—with a gold beaten handle.
714. One dagger with a beautifully carved blade and ivory hilt.
715. Four documents, being the grant of Jagir.

Owned by Mr Krishna Rao P. Deshpande, B.A., Surgi, Anjangaon, Berar.

716. Three very old swords.

Owned by Mir Syed Altab Hussain, Vice-Chairman, Ellichpur.

717. One old sword with a silver beaten hilt.
718. One old Nimcha or child's sword.
719. One old Katar—of silver hilt.
720. One old small katar used by children.
721. One old katar of a big size—silver beaten handle.
722. One Chura of big size—ivory hilt.
723. One old Chura of wooden handle.
724. One old dagger.
725. One Kulfi (hukka base) of narrow neck; Bidar work, beaten design.
726. One betel dish—small Bidar work, beaten design.

**Collected by Syed Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.,
Professor, King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar)—contd.**

Owned by Rohilla Shah Sahib, Ellichpur Camp.

727. One Surahi very old. Designs of creepers, trees, on it.

Owned by Nawab Mir Mahmud Ali Khan, Amraoti.

728. One Chura—used by Nawab Namdar Khan Panni of Ellichpur.

729. Two very old Churas.

730. One old Nimcha.

731. One hilt of sword—dates from the time of Jahangir.

Owned by Mr Yusuf Hussain, Boiler Inspector, Nagpur.

732. One octagonal Himayal Quran Sharif in Aurangzib's handwriting.

Owned by Mr S. Mahmud-ul-Hussain, Nagpur.

733. One Bastar Sword—double edged, gold beaten.

From Mr A. R. Deshpande, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Namuna, Amraoti, Berar.

ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS FOUND AT KAUNDINYAPUR, AMRAOTI DISTRICT, BERAR.

734-5. Class I.—Remains found lying on the site—

(a) Head of a big stone image.

(b) A piece of broken image of Vishnu.

736-40. Class II.—Remains excavated from earth mounds—

(a) Three baked bricks.

(b) Three small earthen vessels found in a big buried earthen jar.

(c) Pieces of broken earthen jar with a mark of 'Swastika' on one of them.

(d) Part of a broken earthenware vase (Antiquity doubtful?).

(e) Baked piece containing two dolls affixed to it. (A peculiar style of hairdressing.)

741. Class III.—Seven photographs of Kaundinyapur.

From Mr Narullah Khan, Honorary Magistrate, Buldana.

(Through Mr M. C. Comrie, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Buldana.)

742-3. Two Persian letters from Sir A. Wellesley afterwards Duke of Wellington at the time of the battle of Assaye (23rd September 1803) to Rahmat Khan, grandfather of the late Nawab Muhammad Salamullah Khan, C.I.E., of Deolghat.

From Mr Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Pleader, Buldana.

744. A photograph of Kalamba inscription.
745. A document—an order by Sahu.
746. An original letter containing description of the battle of Kharda.
747. Letter sent by Malhar Rao Holkar to the Peshwa just after the Battle of Panipat, describing the battle.
748. Sanad by Maloji Bhonsla, the grandfather of Sivaji.
749. A letter of Baji Rao I.
750. An old Bakhar of the Sindkhed family from which the mother of Sivaji came.
751. An old Persian grammar.
752. An old Bakhar of the Bhonslas of Nagpur.
753. A manuscript history of the Kayasthas.
- 754-5. Two picture albums containing the following pictures—
 - (1) Shaikh Sadi.
 - (2) Unidentified miniature painting.
 - (3) Ahmad Murad Bin Mirza Ahmad Jari Turkaman.
 - (4) Salabat Khan Bahadur.
 - (5) Shamsul Umara Tej Jang Bahadur.
 - (6) Syed Akkal Khan Bahadur Bahram Jang Burhan-ud-daulah.
 - (7) Muhammad Namdar Khan Bahadur, son of Muhammad Salabat Khan Bahadur, 1252 A. H.
 - (8) A young lady.
 - (9) A lady seeing her face in a mirror.
 - (10) A lady.
 - (11) Amir Bahadur Fateh Jang Khan.
 - (12) A Hindu maiden worshipping the god Mahadeo.
 - (13) Man and wife.
 - (14) Maulana Jami Ghafur Lahu.
 - (15) Sahadulla Gujrati.
 - (16) Asad Ali Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-Daulah.
 - (17) Maulana A. Jami—a persian poet.
 - (18) Jahangir.
 - (19) A Mughal Sardar.
 - (20) Unidentified.
 - (21) Aurangzib.
 - (22) Aurangzib.

From Mr Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Pleader, Buldana—contd.

- (23) Syed Mubarak Ali Khan and Munshi Raja Govind Baksh Bahadur.
- (24) Nawab Mahmud Ibrahim Khan, son of Nawab Ismail Khan.
- (25) Nawab Mahmud Khalil Namdar Khan Bahadur, Ellichpur.
- (26) Mahmud Wazir Khan Bahadur.
- (27) Ghulam Syed Suhrab Jung Rustum.
- (28) A lady.
- (29) Amirul-Mamalik Alijah Bahadur.
- (30) Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur.
- (31) Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur (second).
- (32) Ibrahim Abdur Shah of Bijapur.
- (33) Nur Jahan.
- (34) Raja Mudhoji Bahadur, Commander of the Nagpur Bhonslas.
- (35) Emperor Muhammad Shah.
- (36) Khair Andesh Bahadur Khan.
- (37) A lady.
- (38) Tej Jang Bahadur.
- (39) Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur.
- (40) Badshah Ghazi Ibrahim Adham Balkh.
- (41) Prince and a Princess.
- (42) Maulana Jami.
- (43) Nur Jahan Begam.
- (44) Qazlbash Khan Bahadur.
- (45) A lady.
- (46) A queen.
- (47) Janab Bademan Ali.
- (48) Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Nasir Jang Nizam-ud-Daulah, Hyderabad.
- (49) A Mughal Sardar.
- (50) Another Sardar.
- (51) Badshah Abdur Rahman Ghazi.
- (52) A picture from the Quran.
- (53) Hazrat Ali Khudawakht Jang.
- (54) Sons-in-law of the Holy Prophet—Hazrat Ali, etc.
- (55) Hazrat Ali in his martial dress.
- (56) A scene depicting the meeting of Muhammad Mustapha and Hazrat, Jibrail.
- (57) Muhammad Paigambar and Hazrat Ali, etc.

From the "Sharadashram," Yeotmal.

(Through Mr Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Pleader, Yeotmal.)

756. Impression of a copper plate grant.
757. Impression of a stone inscription at Nandgaon in Chandur Taluq, Amraoti district.
758. Impression of a stone inscription from Warangal in Telegu characters.
759. Specimen to show how old records have been preserved in a pothi.
760. Copy of Holkar's Thaili—a renowned Bakhar.
761. Autograph of Balaji Baji Rao, *alias* Nana Sahib Peshwa.
762. A document—a bond of a lakh of rupees passed by a Maratha general.
763. An old document—Army account of Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar—Maratha general of Balaji Baji Rao, Peshwa.
764. Autograph of Kanhoji Bhonsla of Bham—the predecessor of Raghuji Bhonsla I of Nagpur.
765. Autograph of Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur.
766. Autograph and seal of the first Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur—the founder of the Nagpur State.
767. A document (Ekharphi). An old revenue statement of Pepal Pargana in Modi script.
768. Ekharphi—or revenue statement of Darwha Pargana.
769. A copy of a Marathi Bakhar compiled in 1829 A. D. from the historical materials of Elphinstone.
770. Impression of a stone inscription at Onkeshwar in H. E. H. the Nizam's State.
771. Impression of a Jain inscription in Sanskrit.
772. Three documents of 393 years old.
773. Six old silver coins of Indo-Sasanian kings and one copper coin.
774. Seals of the Kazi family of Darwha.
775. Mahambhao literature of the 12th century—Shaliwaham Shaka—Five pothis or books.
776. Sanad given by Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk in the reign of Emperor Shah Alam. 1145 A. H.
777. Sanad of a Muhammadan king.
778. Sanad granted during the reign of Muhammad Shah.
779. Shasanpatra (or a letter of reproach) by Raja Hanmant Rao Supekar in the reign of Sivaji.
- 780-81. Sanads by Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk.
782. Sanad by Nizam-ul-Mulk Fateh Jang.
783. An old sanad of 1215 A. H.

From the "Sharadashram," Yeotmal—*contd.*

- 784. Three statements of Land Revenue of Pargana Darwha, in 1230 A. H.
- 785. Three impressions of stone inscriptions.

From Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and Government Treasurer, Delhi.

PAINTINGS.

- 786. Jahangir's marriage with Raja Man Singh's sister.
- 787. Shahjahan sitting in Darbar on the Peacock Throne.
- 788. Seal impressions of various Emperors of Delhi.
- 789. A battle scene between Shihabuddin Ghori and Rai Pithora.
- 790. Mirza Ghiyas the father of Nur Jahan Begam.
- 791. An Indian Woman carrying water.
- 792. Bu Ali Shah Qalandar a famous saint of Panipat.
- 793. Mirza Salim the younger brother of Bahadur Shah II.
- 794. Siege of Golkonda by Aurangzib.
- 795. Umar Khayyam the famous poet of Persia drinking with a lady.
- 796. Darbar of Salim Shah the Afghan king of Delhi.
- 797. Farrukhsiyar and his beloved Shirin Laqa.
- 798. Akbar the great with his Court Musician Tansen visiting the saint Baijoo Baora the best singer of his time.
- 799. Picture showing a scene of a Sarai at Kabul.
- 800. Mirza Buland Bakht the younger brother of Bahadur Shah II.
- 801. Mirza Fakhroo the heir-apparent of Bahadur Shah II.
- 802. Amir Timur.
- 803. Raja Jiaji Rao going on a hunting expedition.
- 804. Accidental meeting of Laila and Majnun.
- 805. Darbar of the Persian invader Nadir Shah.
- 806. Goddaru.
- 807. Gulistan.

MANUSCRIPT.

- 808. Quliat Sadi—From the Library of Hakim Hamam Jelani of Akbar the Great's time. The book was written in Mushad in the year 756 Hijiri in Khathe Taliq character which is very rare. The book bears the seal and signature of Hakim Hamam Jelani's son Fateh Jang.

From Pandit Amar Nath, Retired Tehsildar, Delhi.

PAINTINGS.

- 809. One complete set of seventy-two pictures of the Ramayan together with one leaf of cover and one leaf of the table of contents.

From Lala Manohar Lal, Jeweller, Delhi.

PAINTINGS.

- 810. Zinat Mahat Begum.
- 811. Meran Bibi of Chittor.
- 812. Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab.
- 813. Gautam Buddha.
- 814. Maharajadhiraj Shri Pirthi Singhji Wali-i-Jaipore.

From Pirji Abdur Razaq Khan, Delhi.

PAINTINGS.

- 815. Group of the Nawabs of Jhajjar.
- 816. Tipu Sultan's sons sent as hostages to Lord Clive.
- 817. Picture of Majnun.
- 818. Picture of Hazrat Salim Chishti.
- 819. Portrait of Prince Murad, son of Emperor Shah Jahan.
- 820. Portrait of Dara Shikoh, son of Emperor Shah Jahan.
- 821. Portrait of Emperor Jalaluddin Akbar.
- 822. Manuscript (illustrated) "Laila and Majnun" and "Shirin and Farhad" consisting of the following parts:—
 - The story of Laila Majnun.
 - The Story of Shirin Farhad.
 - The Story of Shah Behram Gour.
 - Sikandar Nama.
 - Shah Nama.

From Mr Muhammad Ahsanjan, Imperial Secretariat Library, Delhi.

- 823. Quran Sharif in scroll (manuscript). A fine specimen of Arabic calligraphy.

